

REPORT

OF THE

SECOND ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

OHIO ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY,

**HELD IN MOUNT PLEASANT, JEFFERSON
COUNTY, OHIO,**

On the twenty-seventh of April, 1837.

CINCINNATI:

**PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
1837.**

MINUTES.

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY, held April 27-28, 1837, at Mount Pleasant, Jefferson county, the place where the celebrated philanthropist, BENJAMIN LUNDY, commenced his labors in behalf of emancipation.

Society met at 2 o'clock, P. M. in the Friends' Meeting House, and was called to order by A. A. Guthrie.

J. G. Birney was appointed Chairman pro tem., and George Whipple, Goodcill Buckingham and A. A. Guthrie, Secretaries.

Rev. John Keep addressed the meeting for a few moments, explanatory of the objects of the convention, and followed his remarks by prayer.

On motion, the names of delegates were called for, whereupon the following gentlemen and ladies presented their names in accordance with the call.

PORTRAGE COUNTY.

E. R. Hamline,
Isaac I. Bigelow,
T. E. Bottsford,
Lyman W. Hall.

Ladies' County Soc.

Mrs. L. Bissell,
Lucinda Cowles.

Morgan Township Soc.

David Wright.

Akron Soc.

Joseph Cole.

WASHINGTON COUNTY.

Luke DeWitt,
John C. McCoy,
Ephraim Gould.

West. Reserve College.

A. Pholps.

LOGAN COUNTY.

Talmadge Female Soc.

Lucy M. Wright.

Miami Soc.

Samuel Mitchell.

ASHTABULA COUNTY.

Lucretius Bissell,
Solomon Jenks.

Zanesfield Soc.

Emeline McConnel.

List of Delegates.

GUERNSEY COUNTY.

John Carey,
James Wallace,
E. F. Thompson.

MERCER COUNTY.

St. Mary's.

John O. Wattles,
Augustus Wattles.

FAVETTE COUNTY.

Joseph M. Gillespie,
Robert Dawson.

GREEN COUNTY.

John A. Purdy,
Jos. Templeton.

CUYAHOGA COUNTY.

Cleveland Soc.

John M. Sterling,
L. L. Rice.

Ohio City Soc.

John Keep.

Euclid Soc.

M. S. McIlrath.

ROSS COUNTY.

Frankfort Soc.

Samuel Stewart,
Moses Latta.

Chillicothe.

Clarissa Wright.

STARK COUNTY.

Ab'm. Baird, Jr.
Jas. Austin,
Jona. Wileman,
Elizabeth Wileman,
Rebecca Hicklin,
Mary Lukens,
Mr. Brook.

HARRISON COUNTY.

Cyrus McNeely.

Georgetown Soc.

John Hammond,
Jos. Cope,
John Heberling,
Wm. E. Lukens,
J. S. Hegue,

John Heberling, Jr.
John Cope.

Harristville Soc.

Robt. Dutton,
Rachel Dutton,
John Mercer,
Samuel Lewis,
David Dutton,
Mary Hensell,
Han'yah Hensell,
Mary Rhodes.

Green Tp. Soc.

Wm. Sloane,
Alex. Work,
Wm. Boyd,
Jonathan L. McFetridge,
George Work,
George Orr,
Jane Orr.

Lees Run Soc.

Richard Hammond,
James Lewis.

Freeport Soc.

Nathan Whealdon.

New Athens Soc.

Robt. J. Hammond,
Thos. B. Walker,
Titus Basfield,
Jacob Coon,
John Walker,
Wm. Lee,
Wm. Boggs,
Edward Vanhorne,
Alex. Hammond,
Rcb't. Mentier,
John Sheridan,
Wm. T. Adams,
John M. Scroggs,
Wm. P. Braden,
Samuel A. Russell,
John M. French,
Johnson Hammond,
Thomas Swayne,
Joseph Grimes,
Robt. Patton,
Robt. R. Walker,
John C. Tidball,
John McCall,
Robt. McMillen.

John Twinam,
John Brokaw,
R. W. French,
Isaac Crawford.

J. H. Cook,
Danl. Baunsell,
Elizabeth Kirk,
Mary Gouldbourn.

Cadiz Soc.

Thomas Lee,
William Boyce,
John Olmsted,
R. Hanna,
M. Willson,
Wm. Sharp,
V. Wallar,
A. F. Hanna,
George Craig,
J. R. Hunter,
D. Taggart,
Jas. Maywell,
Alex. Henderson,
James Thompson,
James Poulson.

Middleton Tp. Soc.

Jacob Heacock, Jr.

New Lisbon Soc.

Jos. Garretson.

GEAUGA COUNTY.

Abner Clark, Jr.

CLERMONT COUNTY.

Thos. Donaldson,
Mark Strickland.

*WAYNE COUNTY.**Waynesburgh Soc.*

J. S. Farr.

MUSKINGUM COUNTY.

A. A. Guthrie,
Horace Nye,
Cyrus Brown,
Margaretta Gillespie,
Lucy Allen,
Eliza Tucker,
Eliza Sheward,
Mary Sturges,
Achsah Colburn,

Newton Soc.

William Wylie.

New Concord.

H. Forsyth,
Oliver Wylie,
John Jamieson, Jr.

Rich Hill.

Elijah Forsyth,
James McNaughton,
Thomas Sinclair.

*HIGHLAND COUNTY.**Greenfield Soc.*

Samuel Crothers.

New Petersburgh.

Wm. H. Rogers,
Alex. Scroggs, Jr.

Salem Tp. Soc.

J. D. Cattell,

List of Delegates.

MEDINA COUNTY. Elijah C. Benton.	Charles Dungan, Thomas Grey.
<i>Newton Soc.</i> O. D. Canfield.	RICHLAND COUNTY. <i>Mansfield Soc.</i> Theodore J. Keep, G. Buckingham.
BELMONT COUNTY. Andrew Foster, Eli Nichols, Jos. Mead, Rebecca Gregg, Mary Coffey.	<i>Green Tp. Soc.</i> Wm. Karnahan.
<i>Flushing Soc.</i> Jesse Bailey, Wm. Palmer, Thomas Vincent, A. Ray, J. Fawcett, David Piggot, J. T. Hirst, Joseph Palmer, L. B. Scolds, Lewis Wood, Charlotte Fisher,	<i>Haysville Soc.</i> Moses Scott.
DELAWARE COUNTY. <i>Peru Tp. Soc.</i> William Grisell, L. A. Houston.	HAMILTON COUNTY. James G. Birney, Gamaliel Bailey, Jr. Wm. Donaldson, Amzi D. Barber, M. R. Robinson, Florella Wright, Emily Robinson, Edward Weed.
ADAMS COUNTY. <i>West Union Soc.</i> Dyer Burgess.	MONTGOMERY COUNTY. <i>Dayton Soc.</i> Sarah Galbraith.
LORAIN COUNTY. <i>Elyria Soc.</i> John Monteith.	BROWN COUNTY. <i>White Oak Soc.</i> Josiah Moore.
<i>Oberlin Soc.</i> G. Whipple, J. M. Blakesley, S. S. Brown, H. W. Fairfield, S. D. Cochran, T. S. Ingersoll, Cortland Avery, William J. Cyner, Lydia A. Keep, Harriet Wright.	<i>Ripley Tp. Soc.</i> John Rankin, James Dunlap.
MONROE COUNTY. Robert Lesslie, Moses Allen,	LICKING COUNTY. <i>Welch Hills Soc.</i> John White.
	<i>Granville Soc.</i> Curtis Howe, Spencer Wright, Anne Bancroft, Orlena Wright, Lucy Bancroft.
	<i>Hartford Tp. Soc.</i> Anson Clark.
	<i>St. Albans Soc.</i> Lewis Barnes, James A. Barnes.

JEFFERSON COUNTY.
Mt. Pleasant Tp. Soc.
 Thomas Campbell,
 Matthew Clapp,
 Wm. Robinson,
 David Updegraff,
 Jesse Thomas,
 Joseph McMillan,
 Joseph Bryant,
 Wm. Flanner,
 Pinckney Lewis,
 Meric Starr,
 Jacob Flanner,
 Geo. Brown,
 Elisha Sidwell,
 Avis Thomas,
 Jane Robinson,
 Rebecca Updegraff,
 Peninah Flanner,
 Rebecca Tomlinson,
 Eliza Ann Griffith,

Elizabeth Sidwell,
 Anna Robinson,
 Ann Pearson.

Steubenville Soc.
 Sarah Moody,
 Eliza Wilson,
 Nancy Stokely.

CLINTON COUNTY.
Abraham Allen.

TUSCARAWAS COUNTY.
 John Moore.

MORGAN COUNTY.
 C. R. Brown.

TRUMBULL COUNTY.
 H. G. Woolcott,
 Thos. Jones.

G. Bailey read the report of the Executive Committee, which, on motion, was referred.

On motion of J. G. Birney, gentlemen (members of Anti Slavery Societies in other States) were invited to take seats with us as corresponding members.

Present as such:

Dr. F. J. Lemoyne,
 Thos. McKeever, Esq.
 Thomas Piles,
 David Boyd,
 Alex. C. Hamilton,
 Joseph Matthews,
 Robert Sloane,
 James Petrie, M. D., from Newbury, Vermont.

M. McKeever,
 Dr. A. W. Campbell,
 David Moore,
 Joseph Cole,
 J. L. Sampson, from Col-
 chester, U. Canada.

On motion of A. A. Guthrie, the following committees were appointed:

Committee on the report of the Executive Committee—Joseph A. Dugdale, J. G. Birney, Thos. Donaldson, William Sloane, Robert Hanna, J. M. Sterling, Horace Nyc.

Committee on Petition to the Legislature—L. L. Rice, J. M. Paine, Nathan Johnson, J. G. Birney, J. M. Sterling.

Committee to receive reports of Societies—A. A. Guthrie, Goodcill Buckingham, Geo. Whipple.

Of Nomination—John Keep, W. Donaldson, A. A. Guthrie, M. R. Robinson, James Dunlap, Goodcill Buckingham, Jas. G. Birney.

On Business—G. Bailey, A. A. Guthrie, M. R. Robinson, E. Weed, Wm. Donaldson.

On Resolutions—Samuel Crothers, Eli Nichols, J. Rankin, J. A. Dugdale, D. Bonsell.

On Petition to Congress—J. C. Birney, John Walker, L. W. Hall, (gentlemen's petition,) Elizabeth L. Borton, Lucy Wright, Elizabeth Wilson, (ladies' petition).

Adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow.

Friday Morning, 8 o'clock.

Society met according to adjournment.

Opened with prayer, by the Rev. Samuel Crothers.

G. Bailey read the report of the Publishing Committee.

Nomination Committee reported the names of the following gentlemen for officers of the Society the ensuing year.

President,
LEICESTER KING.

Vice Presidents.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, }
JAMES GILLILAND, } Brown county.

ASA MAHAN, Oberlin.

DR. BANCROFT, Granville.

REESE E. PRICE, Hamilton county.

FRANCIS DUNLAVY, Warren county.

WM. KEYS, Highland county.

DAVID LONG, Ross county.

SAMUEL CROTHERS, Highland county.

NATHAN GALBRAITH, Columbiana.

JAMES STEWART, Fayette.

DYER BURGESS, Adams.
ABRAHAM BAER, Starke.
WM. R. HUDSON, Geauga.
SAMUEL DENNY, Pickaway.
G. BUCKINGHAM, Richland.
ORESTES K. HAWLEY, Ashtabula.
J. JOLIFFE, Clinton.
LEVI WHIPPLE, Muskingum.
J. S. WAUGH, Butler.
JOHN WALKER, Harrison.
DANIEL MILLER, Seneca.
J. G. BIRNEY, Hamilton.
J. A. FOOTE, Cuyahoga.

Corresponding Secretary,
GAMALIEL BAILEY, jr.

Recording Secretary,
AUGUSTUS HOPKINS.

Treasurer,
WILLIAM DONALDSON.

Managers,
HARMON KINGSBURY, Cuyahoga county.
ISAAC COLBY, Cincinnati.

THOMAS MATLIN, Cincinnati.
JOHN MELENDY, Cincinnati.
CHRISTIAN DONALDSON, Cincinnati.

JOHN HUNT, Athens county.
JOSHUA K. GIDDINGS, Ashtabula.
JACOB COON, Belmont.

J. B. MAHAN, Brown county.
JOHN RANKIN, Brown county.

THOMAS HIBBON, Clinton.
MANASSEH BAER, Carroll.

JAMES HAMBLETON, Columbiana.
M. B. CUSHING, Franklin.

URI SEELEY, Geauga.
ROB'T. HANNA, Harrison.
ROB'T. BELL, Holmes.

EVERTON JUDSON, Huron.

Officers.

Wm. Flanner, Jefferson.
 W. W. Beebe, Knox.
 Joseph Riggs, Scioto.
 J. B. Johnson, Logan.
 John Monteith, Lorain.
 Archibald Stewart, Fayette.
 Timothy Hudson, Medina.
 Charles Dringan, Monroe.
 James H. Shield, Montgomery.
 Horace Nye, Muskingum.
 John Wallace, Muskingum.
 G. C. Beamen, Pike.
 Asahel Kilbourn, Portage.
 P. H. Gallady, Preble.
 Sheldon Guthrie, Putnam.
 Rob't. Stewart, Ross.
 Samuel McCullough, Shelby.
 Kiverius Bidwell, Trumbull.
 J. M. Sterling, Cuyahoga.
 Peter Kirkpatrick, Licking.
 George Beecher, Clinton.
 Wm. Cook, Hamilton.
 John Keer, Ohio City.

Executive Committee.

Wm. Donaldson,
 Gamaliel Bailey, jr.
 James C. Ludlow,
 Reese E. Price,
 Isaac Colby,
 Augustus Hopkins,
 John Melendy,
 Horace Bushnell,
 James G. Birney.

Delegates to the Convention at New York.

J. G. Birney,
 G. Buckingham,
 E. Sturges,
 G. Helmick,

W^m. KEYS,
H. FOOTE,
HⁱRAM WILSON,
MICHAEL S. McILRATH,
JOEL FISK,
JOHN MORGAN,
SAMUEL STEELE,
CHARLES S. RENSHAW,
BENN^ET ROBERTS,
DANIEL H. BABCOCK.

J. G. Birney, from the committee to whom was referred the report of the Executive Committee, reported the same back with slight amendments, and a recommendation to commit it to the Executive Committee for the ensuing year, for publication; which was agreed to by the society.

J. G. Birney offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, There is no danger to the integrity of the Union to be apprehended from the discussion of the subject of slavery, or from the emancipation of the blacks.

Passed unanimously.

John Rankin and Dyer Burgess supported the following resolution.

Resolved, That the sending of agents to collect funds from slaveholders, tends to bring the proceeds of robbery into the treasury of benevolent societies, to relieve the consciences of slaveholders, to render slavery reputable, and to corrupt both the agents, and societies who send them.

Sister Elizabeth Borton also supported the foregoing.

The Treasurer offered his report, which was received, and referred to a committee of three as auditors.

Adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock, P. M.

2 o'clock, P. M.

Society met.

Committees on Petitions reported, and were discharged from the further consideration of the subject. The business of

drawing up the forms of petitions, was committed to the Executive Committee.

Dr. J. F. Lemoyne offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the duty of every friend of immediate emancipation, fully to investigate and appreciate the obstacles which oppose and obstruct the free course of our holy cause; and to employ more zealously his time, talents and means, in every peaceful and righteous instrumentality for its speedy triumph. *Passed unanimously.*

Individuals and societies were called on for pledges to the funds of the society for the ensuing year; when about six thousand three hundred dollars were subscribed.

On motion of Mr. Birney, it was

Resolved, That the time of holding the annual meeting of the society, be between the 25th of May and 10th of June.

Resolved, That the Treasurer be instructed to meet the pledge of last year (to the American Society) as far as possible, and that the Executive Committee be instructed to meet the whole as soon as possible.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorised to pledge to the parent society, a sum not exceeding \$2000, from any moneys which may remain in their hands, after paying the present pledge.

Resolved, That all moneys paid to the society shall pass into the hands of the Treasurer, and no moneys shall be paid out by him except upon the written order of the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to prepare and send up to the next legislature a statement of facts with regard to the colored people of this state, showing their numbers, condition and the effects of our statutes upon them.

Saturday Morning, 8 o'clock.

Society met according to adjournment, and was called to order by Nathan Galbraith Jones.

On motion of a member of the Convention, it was

Resolved, That our friends are respectfully invited to use their individual influence to increase the subscription list of papers friendly to our cause, especially of the Philanthropist, as the organ of this society.

J. S. Sampson made an interesting report on the condition of the colored population of Canada.

Amzi D. Barber made a report on the present condition of the colored population of Cincinnati.

A. Wattles offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That colored people are men, and that abolitionists will regard and receive them as such.

The following resolution was offered by a member of the society and adopted.

Resolved, That our sincere thanks are tendered to the Hon. J. Q. Adams, of the house of representatives, from Massachusetts, and to Thomas Morris, of the senate, from the state of Ohio, for their magnanimous exertions in behalf of the right of petition—the last right that those who would be free, should surrender.

By request of the treasurer—

Resolved, That all moneys paid in for the colored schools, be paid into the hands of Lucy M. Wright.

M. M. Clark, agent of the colored people of the state of Ohio, presented a report on the colored population of the state.

Mr. Rice, of Cleveland, offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That this society approve the exertions of the colored people in their own behalf, and cordially recommend to the friends of equal rights, throughout the state, to encourage them in their endeavors to elevate themselves.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we view any future annexation of Texas to the Union, unless the existence of slavery be utterly and forever inhibited within its limits, as fatal to the political power of the free states, and destructive of their interests in the Union.

Resolved, That the experience of the last year has abundantly proved, that the demands of the slaveholders of the south for the maintenance of their system, tend to the utter subversion of the indisputable and, heretofore, unquestionable rights of the north—the liberty of the press and of speech, personal security, and the right of trial by jury; and to the utter subversion of the principles of the American constitution.

Resolved, That it is time for the abolitionists of Ohio to relinquish all party attachments, by which they have heretofore been actuated in politics, and to act with a single view to the supremacy of the laws, the inviolability of constitutional privileges, and the equal rights of all.

Resolved, That it be recommended to abolitionists throughout the state, to adopt means for ascertaining the sentiments of candidates for office, in relation to the great principles of constitutional liberty and legal protection, which, as abolitionists, we *all* cherish; and to support only such as are decided in maintaining these principles, and in upholding order and law in the community.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the friends of Anti-slavery throughout this state, to enter into and promote, as far as practicable, the culture of the *sugar beet*, as a means of diminishing the extensive use of the products of slave labor.

Resolved, That, for the purpose of economizing our means and furthering the cause, it be recommended to abolitionists to use their utmost endeavors to enlighten and persuade the people of their respective counties and form societies in every town or neighborhood, and thus save as far as possible the expense of traveling agents.

Resolved, That the services of J. L. Sampson, in behalf of the colored people in Canada, in his gratuitous mission among them, receive the grateful approval of this meeting; that he be encouraged to prosecute his efforts of love, and that the sympathies of the public should be directed in aid of his object.

Resolved, That the executive committee of this society be directed, and they are hereby directed, to appoint delegates to the American Anti Slavery Society, at their meeting in the year 1838.

Resolved, That example has more influence than precept, and that the unnatural, cruel and dishonest practice of slavery, corrupts the public morals, undermines and destroys the influence of religion, wages a war of extermination against the natural dictates of justice, uproots and scatters to the winds the republican doctrine of equal rights, makes our boasted liberties the jest of the world, and a cause of triumph and hissing to monarchs, nurtures within the bosom of the nation millions of enemies to the government, and requires that society be supported and maintained by force; whereas it should be cemented by mutual interest and upheld by common good will.

Resolved, That slavery should be removed by the civil administration of the competent and organized governments, and that we most earnestly deprecate any resort to physical force for the abolition thereof by the bond or free.

Resolved, That the civil government of the United States is constitutionally competent to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the slave trade between the several states and territories, and to prohibit slavery in the territories of the Union, and in the new states that shall be admitted, and the said constitutional authority should be exercised.

Resolved, That as abolitionists, we have no connection with any of

the political parties of the Union, and that it is not the object of abolition, either directly or collaterally, to aid or abet either of said parties or leaders, otherwise than as the same may promote the abolition of slavery, to which alone we, as abolitionists, stand pledged.

The following letter, received during the Convention, will explain the cause of the absence of president LEICESTER KING.

WARREN, Trumbull county Ohio, }
April 24th, 1837. }

DEAR SIR—

On my return home a few days since, after an absence of nearly six months, your esteemed favor was placed in my hands, informing me that the "annual meeting of the OHIO ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY would be holden at Mount Pleasant, on the 27th instant, and that it was the wish of the Executive Committee that I should be present and address the society on that occasion on some subject connected with its great objects.

To those of my personal acquaintances, I need give no assurances of the pleasure which such an opportunity would afford me, and that no duties of a private or personal character would prevent me from complying with the wishes of my friends and associates. Engagements, however, of a public nature, made at Columbus during the last session of the Legislature, require my attendance on the Board of Public Works and the Executive of the state, on the first day of May next, in the western part of the state; to fulfil which, I must leave this place on the 26th instant.

In reviewing the progress which the principles of civil liberty have made within the last few years in the most enlightened portions of the globe, in breaking down those arbitrary distinctions which have been made between man and man in the exercise of their natural and personal rights, which each received at the hands of his Creator, which was first established by physical power, and to which custom and long continuance had almost secured the universal acquiescence of mankind,—the friends of human rights have abundant cause for encouragement and perseverance.

Already has the public mind become alarmed at the combined and systematic efforts which have been made in various sections of our country, to wrest from its citizens the most sacred rights guarantied to them by the constitutions of their adoption; the freedom of speech and of the press; the right of investigating abuses; of petitioning for a redress of grievances, and of personal liberty and safety. These

combined efforts have naturally led to an inquiry into the principles upon which our government is founded, and the tenure by which our rights are secured. If they are liable to be wrested from us at the pleasure of any combination of individuals in society, then are we reduced to the most degraded servitude; to a state of undefined and unrestricted slavery. The spirit of freedom has, however, been awakened by the inquiry and the champions of liberty, unappalled by the threatening array of vindictive popular phrensy which has been surreptitiously brought to bear upon them, are rising up in every part of the land, and boldly declaring that, although slavery may be tolerated in some portions of this free republic, yet they will never consent to be slaves or surrender the rights of freemen.

The firmness and unanimity with which the legislatures of several of the states have recently met the attempted encroachments and restrictions upon the rights of the people, strongly evince their sensitiveness upon the subject, and their strong attachments to the cause of freedom.

While they manifest no intention of interfering with the constitution and laws in other states, for the perpetuation of slavery, and the protection of that species of property, they show a fixed determination that it shall not be effected at the sacrifice of the rights secured to the freemen of their own.

Looking forward to the time, which I hope is not far distant, when the great mass of the American people will practically acknowledge, that the principles promulgated to the world by the patriots of the revolution, were not intended as mere abstract theories unfit for use, but as fundamental truths upon which all free governments should be based; and hoping that your meeting may be productive of much good to the cause of humanity.

I subscribe myself,
very cordially,
your friend,
LEICESTER KING.

LETTER FROM OWEN RROWN.

Hudson, April 24, 1837.

DEAR BRETHREN:

It would have been a great gratification, could I have been permitted to meet with you, and mingle my sympathetic feelings with you, and hear you deliberate on the best means to promote the anti-slavery cause, and elevate the colored people of our land. It would give me pleasure if I could say no more than aye! to your reso-

lutions. But as I shall not be present, permit me to drop a hint for your consideration in the form of a resolution, subject to amendments, hoping that some one or more will speak on it.

Resolved, That education lies at the foundation of elevation in civil and religious liberty, and that it is expedient there should be a State Anti Slavery Education Society formed, and that it be recommended to the county and town societies to form societies auxiliary to the State Anti Slavery Society.

Reasons. 1st. There is no provision made, by our statute, for the education of black and mulatto youth and children in our common schools; and, in this respect, they are but little better off in this state than in the slave states.

2d. Public sentiment forbids their being schooled in common schools at present, even where they are able to pay for their schooling.

3d. There is no provision made for them by the American Education Society, at least short of a public education. So there is no help between entire ignorance and a classic education, and but few of the colleges will receive black and mulatto students. So we may see, the American Education Society by no means reaches their case; and, besides, I have never heard an agent of that society plead the cause of the poor black and mulatto population.

4th. Where schools have been set up at the expense and self-denial of individuals, in most cases they have met with great opposition; their expense has been much increased; their patience tried, and they have had the aid of but very few.

5th. This want of education shuts out this class of people from most of the privileges of other benevolent societies, as that of the Bible and Tract Societies, and even the Home Mission Society is but of little use.

6th. For want of education, newspaper and periodical information is in a manner lost; correspondence with each other is cut off, and much kind advice and instruction are lost, such as are necessary to regulate their conduct, make them good members of civil and religious society, make them useful and happy neighbors, lessen their crimes, and raise their prospects for time and eternity. With these few remarks I close, imploring the blessing of God on your deliberations.

OWEN BROWN.

Resolved to lay the subject of this over to our annual meeting, and that this letter be published in the proceedings of this meeting.

REPORTS.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY. 1836-7.

On a review of events that have transpired since our last anniversary, your committee find abundant cause for gratitude to the Father of Spirits, whose providence is over all his works, and whose wisdom is displayed in making even the opposition of his creatures minister to the furtherance of his purposes.

To abolitionists, the past year has been one of self-denial, persecution and labor. But they have had their reward—even the testimony of a good conscience, that they have pleased God, in feeling for those in bonds as bound with them, in pleading for them who cannot plead for themselves. And the evidences are at hand that they have neither acted nor suffered in vain. With joy they contemplate the magnificent advancement of their cause. God has not permitted the proclamation of truth to fall powerless on the ear of man. Justice has not commanded; mercy has not wept in vain. The violence of adversaries, the deep excitement in church and state, tell that men's consciences are stirred, and that the light of truth is beginning to reveal the inexcusable iniquity of this nation.

It is not possible to estimate accurately the advancement of abolitionism. That the number of its adherents has been wonderfully multiplied, is evident; but this is not the only circumstance by which to judge of its progress. We must extend our view to its influence on the sentiments of those who are not its professed adherents. Where a mind, pre-resolved against truth, has been brought to candid inquiry; where prejudice has been softened; where a generous feeling of pity towards the oppressed, or indignation towards the oppressor, or hatred of tyranny has been awoken; there abolitionism has obtained a triumph. Many triumphs of this kind have been achieved. Besides, changes are not the birth of a moment; they may be in progress for days, for months, for years; and yet no eye behold them. The outer aspect may not be changed, while beneath, there is a new being. There can be no doubt that abolitionism is thus moving onward in a large portion of the community. Their minds are gradually opening

to the reception of its truths; imperceptibly do their affections begin to adhere to its free principles. But of these silent, secret changes, we can form no accurate opinion; we must patiently wait until the day of their revelation. We have the less occasion to search out these under movements of society, since on the surface such an abundance of faith is exhibited, illustrative of the progress of our principles.

FOREIGN SENTIMENT.

GREAT BRITAIN. In Great Britain, these principles are now engaging as they have heretofore engaged, the earnest attention of the public mind. Men, distinguished for rank, intellect and piety, have devoted themselves to the dissemination of correct doctrines concerning human rights, and to the task of unchaining degraded human nature. The career of George Thompson, denounced, defamed, persecuted and banished by this republican nation, has been a glorious one in his native land, and not less honorable to himself than beneficial to the interests of humanity. We rejoice to see the people of Great Britain arising on the question of slavery. It is a question which concerns the whole human family, and their cooperation with the friends of the slave in this country, is a fine illustration of the truth, that christian benevolence is not to be hedged in by geographical limits. The world—the world, this is the home of the true philanthropist; this should be his field of labor. It is in vain that the supporters of slavery plead that it is a domestic political institution, and therefore entrenched beyond the reach of foreign censure. When the fundamental principles of justice and humanity are systematically and perpetually violated by one nation, its sovereignty may secure it from armed interference, but not from the scorn, indignation and rebuke of other less favored, but more consistently humane nations.

Public sentiment is already formed in Great Britain. The sympathies of her people are strongly enlisted in behalf of American abolitionists; and her churches, with all due affection and respect, and yet with the utmost plainness, have earnestly expostulated with their sister churches in America, on the sin of slavery. Its vigilance is also awakened to the extension of this system, and to the project of the slave holding party in this country, to procure the annexation of Texas to our territory. All this is matter of congratulation. The greater the moral force which can be brought to bear upon the subject, the sooner will the question be decided. The world is not now so insulated in its different portions as in former times. Nations are drawn more closely together by the sympathies of a common religion, and the bonds of a common interest; so that it is absurd for any minute portion of civilization to imagine it can face the abiding frown of the

great mass, unless it should be sustained by a full consciousness of innocence and integrity.

FRANCE. Abolition societies have also been instituted in France. Their specific object is the extermination of every form of slavery from the French West India islands.

HAYTI. In Hayti, societies have been formed, with the avowed object of extinguishing slavery throughout the world. This is as it should be. The Haytians know, that so long as the system of slavery is practiced in the United States, so long as it is advocated on principle as it is in this country, so long will all colored people every where be liable to mortification, disrespect and degradation.

CANADA. Canada, from its situation and connection, is anti slavery. In this country, will the future historian of America record with astonishment, did the black man, self emancipated from the chains of a republican people, or a fugitive from their barbarous prejudice, find beneath the sceptre of a king, that repose, equality and respect, which the boasted government of freemen had denied him. In Canada, philanthropists are moving with energy in the cause of emancipation. Within the last year they have organised themselves into a society, for the purpose of co-operating with societies of a kindred character in the United States.

PROGRESS AT HOME.

The rapidity with which abolition societies have sprung up in this country during the past year, has exceeded calculation. We have room to advert only to a few of the more prominent instances.

MICHIGAN. On the 10th of November, 1836, delegates from all parts of Michigan assembled in convention, and, after an interesting session, framed a constitution and organised a state society. This state, although not exempt from the national prejudice against the colored man, yet being far removed from the ordinary pro-slavery influences, has given a ready reception to the principles of abolition. From the failure of all attempts hitherto to give predominance to the mob spirit notwithstanding the manifestly deep interest of the people in the discussion of the subject of slavery, we predict much success to our cause in this new state.

MASSACHUSETTS. The Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society recently held its anniversary in the city of Boston. One year before, this city had been disgraced by an anti abolition mob, of as much virulence, with perhaps the exception of the Cincinnati mob, as any that have appeared during the struggle of free principles. This year the society assembled in peace; not because people were indifferent, for their meetings were largely attended, but because the mob spirit had been

prostrated by the patience and energy with which abolitionists had maintained the right of free discussion. What merits special notice, as a striking indication of the progress of change in public sentiment, is the fact, that for one evening, the society, by consent of the House of Representatives, occupied the legislative hall for their exercises.

NEW YORK. A no less favorable indication has been presented in the state of New York. More than a year ago, it will be remembered, a violent mob, instigated and led on by men of station and influence in the community, assailed the convention which had assembled at Utica for the purpose of forming a state society, and by menace and outrage compelled them to disperse. The result was, that a large portion of the citizens of Utica were converted into staunch abolitionists; an excellent anti slavery paper was established in the town, and a large state society formed of the most excellent materials. This year, in the same place, the society held its anniversary in peace. Violence had yielded place to kindness, and politicians there were, who, from being persecutors, became candidates for the favor of the once persecuted.

PENNSYLVANIA. Pennsylvania has at length come up to the work. A convention of some of her best citizens assembled at Harrisburg, January 31st, during the sitting of the legislature, and after a pleasant, harmonious and efficient session, organised a state society.

With three or four exceptions, we believe that state societies now exist in all the free states. They are all active, all flourishing, all of one heart and mind in the great work of immediate emancipation.

OHIO. In our own state, the principles of anti slavery have prevailed exceedingly. We have no accurate record of the number of societies organised since our last anniversary, but we know that their number is great. Several lecturers employed by the national society, have been traversing different parts of the state, and their letters, published from time to time in the Philanthropist and Emancipator, show with what success their labors have been attended. Your committee, during a part of the year, employed three agents, whose services, during the period of their appointment, were highly efficient. Besides these, we have learned that lecturers have occasionally been employed by individual societies. We see nothing in the aspect of affairs in Ohio, to lessen our hopes or palsy effort. In numerous sections of the state, there is a demand for lecturers, and all that is needed is additional light. The vicinity of Ohio to states in which slavery exists, has not yet so corrupted her yeomanry as to take away their power of appreciating free principles; and we have little doubt that, notwithstanding the constant pressure of slave holding influences to which she is subject, it will not be long before this state will present a most

formidable phalanx of anti slavery sentiment, impenetrable to all the assaults of the spirit of slavery.

Five or six years ago, we believe, the first anti slavery society was formed in the nation. Now, it is calculated, there are nearly a thousand societies, directly or indirectly auxiliary to the parent society; all actively and without ceasing, employed in the cause of freedom. This is our second anniversary. Two years ago our state society was formed; and now, according to the most accurate calculation, we number more than two hundred societies. Add to these evidences of the wide prevalence of abolitionism, the employment at this time of seventy lecturers by the parent society, and the continual demand for more; the enlargement and vigorous circulation of papers specially devoted to anti slavery; the conversion of several political papers to our cause; the opening of the columns of neutral papers in different parts of the country to the free discussion of slavery; the agitation of the public mind on this question; the attention bestowed on abolition movements in legislative halls and churches; the increasing excitement of the south, and the testimony of slaveholders themselves, and we can form some faint idea of the power and progress of the anti slavery cause.

We have introduced facts enough to show how fruitful have been our labors. A more important duty now demands attention: it is to consider some of the most prominent events that have transpired during the year in connection with anti slavery movements.

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

One of these events was the session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, in the summer of 1836. The Methodist church was once distinguished by her unconcealed hatred of slavery, and the fearless denunciation of it by her ministry. Her zeal in this way not unfrequently brought upon her great odium, and subjected her southern members to severe persecution. Opposition to slavery still stood out in prominent characters on her book of discipline; but persecution had succeeded in repressing, to a great extent, the manifestations of such opposition on the part of her ministry. There was her written declaration as a church, that she was as much as ever opposed to slavery, but it was evident that her antagonism was so qualified and directed as to avoid not only proscription, but suspicion. In fact, it was believed that the parts of her discipline relating to slavery, had become a dead letter.

The acts of the conference of 1836, revealed what abundant ground there was for this belief. Few can be ignorant of its proceedings in relation to slavery. Our report of them has been extensively

circulated; and, so far as we know, not a single statement therein has been pointed out as erroneous. A few individuals ventured to impeach the whole as a misrepresentation, but when called upon to specify any particular fact, falsely stated, or speech incorrectly reported, they never answered to the call.

A resolution of censure was formally introduced in the Conference, against two individuals, members of this body, who, in an interval of leisure, had attended a meeting of the Cincinnati Anti Slavery Society. Appended to this was a resolution, denunciatory of modern abolitionism. The debate consequent upon these resolutions, furnished undoubted evidence of the fact, that both the ministry and membership of the southern portion of this church are deeply involved in the sin of slave holding; and that, so widely have they departed from their primitive doctrines on this subject, that they hesitate not to bring the sanctions of revelation to the support of slavery.

The proceedings of the conference will, doubtless, be overruled for good. Indeed, so far as we can judge, they have already been productive of beneficial results. They have disclosed the real condition of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to slavery. An evil must be known before a cure can be effected. Palpable evidence is now at hand, to prove that this influential church is radically defective on the subject of slavery; that the bulwarks of her discipline have not been able to withstand the disastrous influences of a wide reaching system of oppression.

This conference furnished painful demonstrations of the deleterious results of slave holding on christian character. The harshness of temper, undisguised anger and overbearing spirit, exhibited by ministers of a meek and benevolent religion, show how fatally the slave is always avenged on his oppressor.

The hasty zeal with which the champions of slavery rush to the defence of their peculiar institution, gave occasion in this instance, as it has done in many others, for an extended discussion of the principles of abolitionism. The individual who introduced the resolutions, had no idea, we presume, of laying open for consideration the whole ground of slavery. He certainly could not have supposed that he was about to be the chief instrument in bringing on a discussion in the light of which, the hideous features of slave holding should become manifest, and modern abolitionism be set forth in its own pure and exalted character, stripped of the unsightly appendages attached to it by the falsehood or ignorance of its adversaries. But such was the fact. The occasion offered, and we rejoice to know that anti slavery found a champion ready to avail himself of it. The day may yet come, when the Methodist Episcopal Church will honor

Orange Scott for his noble defence of her truth and unperverted doctrines against the modern corruptions introduced by slavery.

Another effect of the proceedings of this body does not at first view appear so favorable. We are free to confess our belief that the violent and proscriptive spirit displayed by ministers of the gospel, in an august ecclesiastical assembly, had no inconsiderable influence in aggravating, if not generating, that disposition in a certain class of the community, to the adoption of lawless measures against the abolitionists, which subsequently broke out into open persecution.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

Another ecclesiastical body, no less imposing and influential, sat during the last year at Pittsburgh. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, by its election of a slave holder to the office of Moderator, gave painful evidence of the prevalence of a low tone of sentiment with regard to the influence of slavery. Strong efforts were made by abolition members to obtain an express declaration from the Assembly of the sinfulness of this system; while on the other hand, the supporters of slavery were no less strenuous in their attempts to compel this body to disavow all constitutional right to express any opinion on the subject. They were both defeated by the vote of a considerable majority, postponing the whole question indefinitely. This vote, when considered in connection with the open instructions of southern presbyteries to their delegates, to refuse submission to any acts of the General Assembly condemnatory of slavery; and also with the special meeting of the southern delegation in Pittsburgh, at which the form of a resolution was devised, to be proposed to the General Assembly, denying all power in it to make any declaration concerning the moral nature of this peculiar system, demonstrates that a large majority of the assembly either believed slave holding sinless, or were prevailed on by an unevangelical timidity to turn aside from the path of rigid duty. The whole of the proceedings on this subject show what inroads the spirit of Slavery has made on the church of Christ, and with what little reason they find fault with abolitionism, who suppose that the question has been agitated only to the injury of religion. While men slept the enemy sowed tares. Abolitionism has aroused the church from its almost fatal lethargy, and she indeed finds that an enemy has been busy within her fold.

THE CHURCH BEGINNING TO MOVE.

Ecclesiastical action favorable to abolitionism has been greatly on the increase during the past year. The amount of this action, precisely,

it is not in our power to report, but we know that numerous ecclesiastical bodies have spoken out fearlessly on the subject. The Friends, although backward in joining themselves to abolition societies, have extensively and ardently, as might have been anticipated from their excellent principles, lent their open sympathy and countenance to the anti slavery cause. The Baptist churches in the east, and the Presbyterian churches, both east and west, have felt it their duty, in many instances to raise their voices against the sin of slave holding. In this state many of the presbyteries have taken an open and firm stand against it. As it regards the Methodist Episcopal church, we cannot but believe that the proceedings of the General Conference, and the action of her ministry and bishops have exerted an evil influence in repressing the manifestations of sympathy with the oppressed. In many parts of this community, however, there is an awakening zeal on this subject, and some of the ablest supporters of anti slavery are to be found among her members.

APATHY OF THE CHURCH.

On the whole, however, the fact ought not to be concealed, that the majority of the churches are indifferent to the evils of slavery, as well as hostile to abolitionism. The discussion of the subject is to most of them a source of dread. This is a most singular fact, when we consider the nature and circumstances of the question presented to their notice. Confessedly it is a religious question in its most important bearings, involving principles of the utmost magnitude. It cannot be discussed without bringing under review the entire nature of man, and the will of God concerning him, together with those principles of justice and benevolence, which constitute the chief glory of the Divine character, and the only security of the human family against discord, corruption and ruin. It is to be remembered, too, that the advocates of slavery have appealed to the Bible for their warranty of the right of property in human flesh and blood. In this book, they boldly and unceasingly declare, they find the justification of the slave holder. Moreover, no man can be blind to the fact, that slavery, in one way or another, exerts a deep influence on the moral and religious habits of the community in which it exists.

Notwithstanding all these circumstances, a majority of the christian church, declines all examination of the agitating subject, and either forbears to give any opinion on its merits, or decides in favor of slave holding advocates. Whatever may be the motives of such conduct, whether an apprehension of disquiet, of division, of persecution, or an erroneous impression that the question is a political one, and therefore unsuitable to the retiring spirit of christianity, deep and abiding

is our conviction, that no motive in the sight of a Holy God, can justify christians in joining hands with the oppressor, hardening their hearts against the cries of the afflicted, and keeping silence when the words of the Benevolent Redeemer are converted into sanctions to a system of gross injustice and cruelty.

The lesson to be gathered from this singular phenomenon is, that slavery cannot long exist without undermining the foundation of moral and religious character. Slavery corrupts those who are the immediate participants in its unholy prerogatives, in the same way that any other sin habitually indulged, vitiates the whole character. And it becomes a source of corruption to christians in the free states, on the principles that they who behold iniquity in silence; who see their brother offend habitually, and yet rebuke him not; who look upon the suffering of the innocent, and yet raise no voice in their behalf; become themselves gradually insensible to the calls of duty and humanity.

CHURCHES IN CINCINNATI.

It is our painful duty to record the determined opposition of the churches in Cincinnati to the anti slavery cause. It is not our business to inquire into their motives, or examine the reasons on which they justify their conduct. The record is enough. Many of the principal churches have been solicited individually by letter, in the most respectful terms, to grant the use of their houses to abolitionists, who might thus have a fair opportunity to disabuse the public mind of wrong impressions in regard to them and their cause. In but one instance, or two at most, has even an answer been deemed necessary. This answer contained a formal refusal. A public request of a similar character was subsequently made through the columns of the Philanthropist, and the number containing it sent to the pastors and leading men of the different churches in the city, but no notice was ever taken of it, and no indication has yet been furnished of a relenting spirit. Every church door is closed to abolitionists. We make no comment. Here is the fact, the naked fact, that in the year of our Lord 1837, in Cincinnati, in the heart of a christian republic, wont to boast of its mental independence, and of the purity of its principles of civil and religious liberty, not a church can be obtained for the purpose of explaining the full meaning of these principles, and relieving the foes of oppression of the grievous calumnies which have been heaped upon them.

SOUTHERN CHURCHES.

As it regards the southern churches, the past year has furnished additional evidences of their deterioration under the influence of slav-

very. It is no longer doubtful, that all the large denominations, with the exception of the Friends, are most deeply involved in the sin of holding human beings as property; and the heresy seems to be rapidly gaining ground among a large majority of professing christians, particularly in the more southern states, that slavery is perfectly defensible on scriptural principles; a sinless, if not a decidedly good ordinance. The proceedings in the General Conference and General Assembly already related, warrant this statement. A few confirmatory facts may farther be introduced.

SCHEME OF SLAVE HOLDING MEMBERS.

According to the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, no slave holder is eligible to any official station in the church, if the laws of the state in which he resides will admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy his freedom. We believe that no slave holder has hitherto been elected to the office of the episcopate in this church. At the last general conference two or three prominent slave holding ministers were run as candidates for this office, and strenuous efforts were made by the southern delegation to elect at least one of them. The attempt was defeated. From subsequent occurrences, it appears, that the vote of the majority was thought by several of the slave holding members to involve an expression of disapprobation of the practice of slave holding. A few months ago a proposition appeared in the Virginia Conference Sentinel, that the southern section of the church should dissolve its connection with the northern, unless at the next General Conference, the system of proscription, as it is termed, should be repealed, and slave holders be permitted to occupy the highest seats in the church. This proposition was sustained with great zeal by the Rev. Mr. Smith, of Richmond, and other southern writers, and so far as we know, has never been opposed by a single individual in the south. If we may judge the southern Methodist church by its representatives in General Conference, we must believe that such a measure would find but few opposers.

REV. JAMES SMYLIE.

During the past year, the Rev. James Smylie, member of the Amite Presbytery, Mississippi, has written a little book in defence of slavery. The Bible is his great, his only argument; and his testimony is, that nine-tenths of all the religious denominations at the south, are direct upholders of this inhuman system, buying or selling, or holding men, women and children as property. His argument and his testimony have thus far been uncontradicted by a single voice in the south.

Further movements in the Presbyterian, and we believe Baptist

churches on the question of slavery, have taken place. Additional resolutions have been passed, upholding the system of slavery, and denouncing the course of those engaged in attempts to abolish it.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS—DEMANDS OF THE SOUTH.

Political movements connected with the anti slavery cause, deserve special attention. Our enterprise is an ample one. It relates to the whole human family, it touches all their interests, it lays hold of church and state.

It will be recollectcd, that last year the legislatures of the free states were officially addressed by some of the slave holding governments, on the subject of abolitionism. They were called upon to arrest the progress of abolitionists by legislative interposition.

Some of the states have replied with becoming dignity and spirit, but the response in other instances, without satisfying the south, has been of such a character as can reflect no honor on the governments by which it was given.

VERMONT. Among the former states is Vermont, whose proceedings in relation to the demand, indicate a spirit of freedom unabased by any mixture of servility. Her answer was full, firm and direct.

“Resolved by the General Assembly of the state of Vermont, That neither Congress nor the State Governments, have any constitutional right to abridge the free expression of opinions, or the transmission of them through the public mail.

“Resolved, That Congress do possess the power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia.

“Resolved, That His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Executive of each of the states, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.”

In House of Representatives, Nov. 15, 1836. Resolutions read and passed. *A. L. MINER, Clerk.*

In Senate, Nov. 16, 1836. Read and resolved to concur.

We are pleased with these resolutions, because they assert the truth, as if the truth were agreeable. No resolutions are appended to blunt their effect or make them palatable to the spirit of slavery.

OHIO. Our own state, Ohio, has given a distinct expression of her views as it regards freedom of discussion. But there is not that spirit of unbending independence in her resolutions, which it may be thought the haughtiness and singularity of the call made upon her, demanded. The following are the resolutions:

“Resolved, by the General Assembly of the state of Ohio, That the state of Ohio has no power to legislate on the subject of slavery, and

she disclaims the assertion of any power to interfere with it in other states.

"*Resolved*, That no law can be passed to impair the freedom of the press, except to procure remedy for the redress of private injury, or the breach of public peace resulting from either."

"*Resolved*, That a due regard to justice and the comforts of others, should induce great forbearance in the discussion of subjects which prove disturbing in their nature, or injurious to the peace and quiet of the country."

"*Resolved*, That the governor be requested to transmit to the governors of the several states, a copy of the foregoing report and resolutions, that the same be laid before their respective legislatures."

The resolution disclaiming all right to legislate on slavery in other states, and that inculcating forbearance in the discussion of agitating subjects, are gratuitous, and were probably inserted to qualify the effect which the main resolution was calculated to have on the slaveholder's temper. Gov. McDuffie, in his last annual message, manifests no gratitude for this conciliatory effort. In noticing the result of the appeal of South Carolina to her sister states in the north, he says, "not one of them has taken any step to suppress the injurious practices of which we so justly complained."

NEW YORK.—This remark, of course, applies to New York, which promised more, perhaps, than any of the states, and has done as little. Gov. Marcy, in his annual message to the New York legislature of 1835-6, explicitly affirmed the right in the government of a state to enact laws for suppressing the moral movements of its own citizens, when their tendency is to affect injuriously the domestic institutions of other states. The legislature responded to this opinion; and the only reason assigned why such laws were not immediately enacted, was, that the evil had not yet attained such a magnitude as to warrant a resort to legislation. It was stated that public opinion would most probably be sufficient to extinguish the zeal of the "fanatics." Should this fail, the implied promise was, that the aid of legislation would be called in. More than a year has elapsed, within which period abolitionism has greatly accumulated in power, extending with a rapidity unprecedented in the history of a majority of moral revolutions. The legislature of New York has again met, but legislation is still unattempted. The project of penal enactments against abolitionists, if ever seriously meditated, may be considered as entirely abandoned in the state of New York. From the predicament in which she had placed herself in making a pledge to the south she could never redeem, Gov. Marcy attempts to extricate her by a stratagem which can deceive no one who does not wish to be deceived. He affirms that the anti slavery excitement, so soon as it ceased to subserve party

purposes, began to subside; that these "fanatical proceedings" (proceedings of abolitionists) are "circumscribed and rebuked by public opinion," and are of such a character as to furnish no reason "for disquietude here, or alarm elsewhere." The object is to deceive the south into the belief that abolitionism has become so contemptible and insignificant, that the strong arm of legislation is not needed to suppress it.

MAINE.—The action of the legislature of Maine was similar to that of the New York legislature.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—No state, perhaps, has given a more cordial response to the south than New Hampshire. The three leading resolutions which were adopted at the recent session of her legislature, were as follow:

"*Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened,* That we recognize the constitutional right of the several states of the Union to exercise exclusive jurisdiction within their own limits, on the subject of domestic slavery.

"*Be it further resolved,* That congress cannot, without a violation of the public faith, abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless upon the request of the citizens of that district, and of the states by whom that territory was ceded to the general government.

"*Be it further resolved,* That as the union of the states can only be maintained by abstaining from all interference with the laws, domestic policy, and peculiar interests of every other state, the conduct of those who would coerce our fellow citizens in other states into the abolition of slavery, by inflammatory appeals addressed to the fears of the masters and the passions of the slaves, is in the highest degree censurable, as tending to alienate one portion of our countrymen from another, and to introduce discord into our sister states, and as a violation of that spirit of compromise in which the constitution was framed, and a due observance of which is necessary to the safety of the Union."

These resolutions are unaccompanied by any reservation in behalf of the sacredness of the right of free discussion; or by a single expression which can indicate that New Hampshire, in thus regarding the peculiar institutions of the south, has not forgotten what is due to her own institutions. The palpable misrepresentation of the measures of abolitionists contained in the last resolution, whether flowing from ignorance or sinister design, is extremely reprehensible; disclosing a lamentable deficiency in that intelligence and candor which should characterize every act of a legislative body. If it be censurable to do that which tends to alienate one portion of our countrymen from another, the New Hampshire legislature is censurable in the highest degree. In assuming that abolitionism is a system of coercion, to be carried into effect by inflammatory appeals addressed to the fears of

the masters and the passions of the slaves, it gives its official sanction to an entirely groundless report, which can have no other effect than to confirm the delusion of slave holders in regard to anti slavery efforts, aggravate their prejudices, and thus delay the hour of universal emancipation. The false statements made at the north by official bodies and influential prints under the pressure of political or commercial motives, have produced an incalculable amount of evil, by misleading the slaveholding states, and by aggravating the excitement, which under other circumstances would have been far more restrained, to such an extent as to disqualify the understanding for the reception of truth. It might be supposed by an unsophisticated mind, that if northern politicians were actuated by a pure regard for their southern brethren, they would be eager to allay their fears by giving them correct representations of the nature and design of abolitionism, instead of out-running even the imagination of a slave holder in their caricatures of this enterprise.

ILLINOIS.—In the legislature of Illinois, the proceedings in relation to the southern memorials, were such as ought not to surprise us. The people of this state for the most part are strangers to the true merits of the anti slavery cause. Their attention has not yet been directed to the subject, and the newspaper notices of it they may have accidentally gathered, are not calculated to bestow very accurate ideas. At the recent session of its legislature, a joint committee of the senate and house of representatives, appointed for the purpose, drew up a report, with resolutions, which were adopted. The report expressed great admiration of the scheme of colonization, enlarged at considerable length on the alarming tendencies of abolitionism, avowed a commendable attachment to the federal constitution, and a fraternal regard for southern rights, and proclaimed the readiness of the people of Illinois, in any needful emergency, to fly to the assistance of their slave holding brethren. The concluding sentence of the report is as follows: "But as your committee are not aware of the extensive existence of abolition societies in this state, they deem a decided expression of opinion all that is at this time demanded." This sentence is only important, as conveying the idea that should abolition societies be extensively organized hereafter within that state, something more than the mere decided expression of opinion would be attempted. Room is thus left to the south to believe that legislative action will be resorted to when necessary, especially as no disclaimer is introduced in any part of the report of a right to legislate for the suppression of the evil complained of. The legislature, in this particular, has followed the example of the assembly of New York. The events of another year will probably tempt it to adopt the same device, which relieved that assembly from the awkward predicament in which its implied pledge of legislation had placed it.

The resolutions adopted by this legislature, are less censurable, in one particular, than the New Hampshire resolutions. They contain no assumption with respect to the nature and design of abolitionism. The resolutions are these:

"Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That we sincerely deplore the evils of abolition societies, and that we firmly believe their doctrines and proceedings are more productive of evil than moral or political good.

"2d. Resolved, That the right of property in slaves is secured to the slaveholding states by the federal constitution, and that they cannot be deprived of that right without their consent.

"3d. Resolved, That the institution of slavery, as forming a part of the civil and domestic economy of the slave holding states, consistent with the federal and state constitutions, cannot, and ought not to be interfered with by any independent authority, federal or state, other than those in which the slavery exists; and further, that we are fully convinced that the disturbance of abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, by Congress, would be unwise, injudicious, and highly inexpedient; and that we therefore would much regret to see this institution abolished in that district, and particularly under circumstances threatening danger to the general safety of the slaveholding states and the Union.

"4th. Resolved, That the Governor of this state be requested to transmit to the states of Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, New York and Connecticut, a copy of the foregoing report and resolutions.

JAMES SEMPLE, Speaker of the H. R.

W. H. DAVIDSON, Speaker of the Senate."

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL ACTION AT THE NORTH.

Other movements in the legislatures of the free states require attention.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—During the last session of the New Hampshire legislature, an event transpired which shows to what an extent this body has departed from the genius of free principles, and what proscriptive measures our enemies are disposed to resort to, in their hatred of abolitionism. The Free Will Baptists petitioned for an act of incorporation for their Home Mission society. The legislature refused it, on the ground, as stated by Mr. Treadwell, that they were a sect, and believed abolition doctrines to be based on the principles of the New Testament. The principle involved in this proceeding is palpably unjust and subversive of the rights of conscience. If the negative punishment of withholding privileges may be justly inflicted on individuals for entertaining peculiar sentiments, there can be no good

reason why, for the same offence, they may not be rightfully subjected to positive penalties. The principle, in fact, would justify any legislature in prescribing to the people their creed in religion or politics, and enforcing it by all the sanctions of law.

MASSACHUSETTS.—The proceedings in the legislature of Massachusetts are perhaps more interesting than any thing we have yet noticed. Petitions during the last session were presented from all parts of the state, praying the legislature solemnly to protest against the action of congress in relation to abolition memorials, and to instruct the senators and request the representatives of Massachusetts in congress to endeavor to procure the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. They were referred to a select committee, who, with a courtesy and liberality becoming the public servants of a free people, permitted G. S. Hilliard and H. B. Stauton to support before them, in speeches of great merit, the prayers of the petitioners. The committee made a brief report, highly honorable to themselves and the state of which they were the representatives, and concluded by recommending the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, the house of representatives of the United States, in the month of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, did adopt a resolution, whereby it was ordered that all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, without being either printed or referred, should be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever should be had thereon; and whereas such a disposition of petitions, then or thereafter to be received, is a virtual denial of the right itself; and whereas, by the resolution aforesaid, which is adopted as a standing rule of the house of representatives, the petitions of a large number of the people of this commonwealth, praying for the removal of a great, social, moral and political evil, have been slighted and contemned: Therefore

Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority, at variance with the spirit and intent of the constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a state.

Resolved, That our senators and representatives in congress in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this commonwealth.

Resolved, That congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possesses the right to abolish slavery in said district, and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard to the public good.

For the Committee:

ARTEMAS LEE, Chairman."

The preamble and resolutions were adopted by a vote of 378 to 18. The vote is a plain indication that Massachusetts is beginning to recover her usual healthy tone of feeling in regard to slavery, and that her representatives are determined, even at the hazard of being reproached as abolitionists, not to forget what is due to the cause of freedom and humanity. The qualifying clause in the last resolution, it would have been well to omit.

The Senate concurred unanimously in these resolutions, except the last. This they amended so, that while it affirmed the right of Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia, it also declared that the "early exercise of such right was demanded by the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world, by the principles of the revolution and by humanity." In its amended form, it passed unanimously. The following additional resolution was also passed, only one voting in the negative:

"Resolved, That slavery, being an admitted moral and political evil, whose continuance, wherever it exists, is vindicated mainly on the ground of necessity, it should be circumscribed within the limits of the states where it has been already established; and that no new state should hereafter be admitted into the Union, whose constitution of government shall sanction or permit the existence of domestic slavery."

We regret to say that the House refused to concur in these amendments. They considered the original resolutions as sufficient, and these were finally passed by both branches of the Legislature.

In connection with the progress of the anti-slavery cause, and the proceedings in congress in relation to John Quincy Adams, on the right of petition, there can be no doubt, that the memorable decision of Chief Justice Shaw, in the case of *Med*, the little girl claimed as a slave, has had a leading influence in producing that sanative re-action of the public mind, of which the foregoing resolutions are a legitimate result.

This decision has placed Massachusetts on the high ground which every free state ought to occupy. It establishes the principle, that in Massachusetts, there is but a single exception to that organic law which, in every other case, destroys slavery within her limits. That exception is to be found in the provision of the Federal Constitution,

for the re-capture of fugitives from labor. This provision, it was decided, must be construed strictly. It does not extend to the case of a slave introduced by the master voluntarily within the limits of Massachusetts; but is exclusively confined to those instances in which the slave escapes, as a fugitive from a slave state, and is found on her soil.

The decision is highly valuable, and as a precedent, will have great weight in the determination of similar questions that may arise hereafter. In Ohio, the question has not yet been brought before the Supreme Court, so that the point here may be considered undecided. The case of the State of Ohio vs. J. G. Birney, so fully detailed in the Philanthropist, has been taken up to the Supreme Court, and by it referred to the Court in Bank. It is possible a decision on this point may be obtained, although the case is not so suitable a one as might be desirable. Under every aspect, it appears highly important that the Court may speedily have an opportunity of settling this question, and may establish the same principle here as has been proclaimed by the judiciary of Massachusetts.

The Ohio river is a thoroughfare for the emigrant slave holder. Now he not only stops at Cincinnati with his slaves for temporary purposes, but not unfrequently passes with them through the state itself. The effect must be injurious on the moral sense of the community. A decision of the Supreme Court, that the constitutional provision of Ohio in reference to involuntary servitude must always be supreme in all cases, except in the single one already alluded to, of fugitives from labor escaping from slave states, to within her jurisdiction, would exclude these offensive exhibitions and tend to preserve the free principles of her people uncorrupted, and be a peculiarly efficient rebuke to the spirit of slavery. In all the free states bordering on the slave holding regions, it must be obvious, that no lawful means should be neglected of securing their free institutions and the liberal principles of their citizens against the inroads of slavery. An impulse has been given to the public mind in Ohio, on various constitutional questions, affecting the rights of the colored people, which will speedily be communicated to the two neighboring states on our west; and we trust it will never abate until the demands of justice and humanity be satisfied.

NEW YORK. Various efforts have been made this year in New York, by the friends of liberal principles, to efface every vestige of slavery from the state. A memorial was presented, couched in respectful language, praying for the enfranchisement of the free people of color, for the repeal of the laws sanctioning slavery, and that the right of trial by jury might be secured to persons claimed as fugitive slaves. The petition, without reference or consideration, was rejected on the spot. We are pleased to record, that a very respectable minori-

ly were opposed to this disrespectful and unusual measure. Petitions of the same character, signed by large numbers of colored persons in Troy, New York city, Brooklyn and Albany, were subsequently presented to the Assembly and referred, with the exception of a single petition, which, after being read, was treated in the same manner as the first petition. The society of Friends also interested themselves in the presentation of similar memorials, which we believe were referred. All these efforts on the part of the friends of equal freedom, were well timed and efficient, and we cannot but believe that the repetition of them will ultimately be crowned with success.

PENNSYLVANIA. The movements in the state of Pennsylvania have been of such a character as to make glad the heart of the philanthropist. The manly tone and fearless sentiments of her Governor's message, contrast nobly with the degenerate spirit or time-scrvng silence of the executive heads of some of the other free states. They are just such as were required to maintain the honor and independence of a free state against the exactions and encroachments of the slave holding spirit. Governor Ritner's message constitutes an era in the history of abolitionism in Pennsylvania. While it awakened in a large portion of the people of this state their ancient hatred of slavery, it exerted a manifest influence on the press, breathing into it the spirit of free discussion. We regret that the Legislature of this state has fallen short of the noble stand assumed by the Governor. A bill proposing to secure to persons claimed as fugitive slaves, the right of trial by jury, was introduced sometime during the last session in the House, and after giving rise to considerable discussion, was lost. A similar bill was the occasion of far more extended and spirited debate in the Senate, but was finally rejected.

NEW JERSEY. We have seen a brief report in many highly respectable newspapers, that the Legislature of New Jersey has passed a bill of the same kind as that whose rejection in the Pennsylvania Legislature we have just recorded. We have seen only the simple statement; but although we believe it to be a fact, we are not prepared to vouch for its truth. In this state, last summer, an interesting slave case was brought before the Supreme Court, in the trial of which, it was decided; 1st, that color in New Jersey is no presumption of slavery; and 2d, that every person within the state is entitled to a trial by jury. The act of the Legislature and the decision of the Court are clearly in accordance with natural right and the express provisions of the Federal Constitution; but they as clearly conflict with the statute of Congress, enacted to carry into operation the clause in the constitution in relation to fugitive slaves. This statute excludes all trial by jury. We note these facts, because they show that the spirit of liberty still survives, and is active in many of the free states, because they

afford encouragement to the advocates of equal rights, and because they will probably exert a beneficial influence in bringing about a similar reformation in the legislation and judicial administration of other states.

OHIO. Ohio has been the seat of movements similar to those which have taken place in other of the free states. A petition from some of the inhabitants of Clermont county, praying that the right of trial by jury might be secured to every individual within the limits of the state, without exception, was presented to the legislature, and referred to the Judiciary Committee, which reported adverse to the prayer of the petitioners. It was the first petition of the kind, we believe, that has been presented; it was a single petition; the subject of the petition had, perhaps, scarcely engaged the attention of members of the Assembly; and the Committee professed to be ignorant of the prevalence of any abuses under the present system of reclaiming fugitives from labor. All these circumstances are to be considered in connection with the denial of the prayer of the petitioners. When petitions shall have been multiplied, the attention of the Legislature intently directed to the subject, and their eyes fully opened to the unconstitutionality and liability to manifold abuses of the statute, under which an individual almost irresponsible, is constituted the sole judge of the most precious rights of a human being, we have little doubt that the prayer of the petitioners will be satisfactorily answered.

The colored people in Ohio, like their brethren in New York, are beginning to raise a voice in behalf of themselves. Some time during the last winter, they held a meeting at Cleveland, at which they resolved to employ an agent to procure signers to a petition for the repeal of the oppressive laws under which they have so long been suffering. A memorial of this kind from the colored people of Cincinnati, was presented in the Senate by Dr. Price. The Speaker said, as he did not understand that this class of persons had any right of petition by the constitution, he would take the sense of the Senate on the question. A motion was made to receive the petition, which occasioned considerable debate, and was finally laid on the table. We conceive that the Speaker, in this case, manifested a strange misconception of the nature of the right of petition, which is not the product of constitutions or conventional agreements, but inherent in the nature of man. To dispute whether the colored people of the state have a right to petition the Legislature, allowing that the constitution has made no provision in their case, for the securement of the right, is, to say the least, as absurd as if Congress had seriously debated what right the Canadians had to petition that body concerning some matter of commercial intercourse, or what right foreign authors had to peti-

lion the Government of this nation for the passage of an act to secure to them the copy right of their books in the United States.

REVIEW OF POLITICAL ACTION IN THE FREE STATES.

On a review of all these movements, it will be seen that abolitionists have not been inactive. When we contemplate what they have assailed, we cannot but be struck with the minute and extended ramifications of the genius of slavery. In the free states, we behold practices entirely dissonant to the spirit of liberty, and principles utterly repugnant and dangerous to the permanence of free institutions. We are taught by what multiplied channels the system of slave holding in the south has spread its deteriorating influences over the public sentiment of the north; and we are also taught, in how many ways we may not only resist, but efficiently assail this most alarming evil.

POLITICAL ACTION IN THE SOUTH.

The action of the southern states, within the last year, cannot minister much consolation to the slave holder. We do not perceive that their hasty and excessive zeal has yet led to the adoption of any settled line of policy in this, as they term it, alarming emergency. They are as earnest in their denunciations of abolitionists as ever, and their menaces have lost none of their asperity; but, for aught we can see, they are as remote now from any decision as to what they shall do to arrest the progress of abolitionism, and bring the northern states into the condition of silent acquiescence in the perpetuation of slavery, as they were two years ago.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The governor of South Carolina, in his last annual message, seemed to be deeply impressed with the rapid prevalence of abolition doctrines. He expressed his opinion, that "the great body of the people of the north would finally rally under the banners of the abolitionists, and carry every thing before them at the elections." "The total neglect or silent indifference," with which the appeal of South Carolina had been treated by the northern governments, he considered a plain indication of an alarming state of public opinion at the north, a state altogether unfavorable to southern interests; and he deemed it right that discussion should now end, and South Carolina maintain an attitude of dignified silence and full preparation for the worst. He laid no stress on a southern convention,

but simply suggested that South Carolina should make a solemn, legislative declaration, that congress has no constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and is under no constitutional obligation to receive petitions from any of the states, having reference to this object; and further, that whenever congress shall pass an act for the emancipation of slaves in the District or in the territories, South Carolina will feel herself absolved from all obligations of the federal compact, and may rightfully and peaceably withdraw from the Union. What has been the action of the legislature in relation to this part of the message, we have no means of knowing.

PROJECT OF LEGISLATION AGAINST ABOLITIONISTS.

From the tone of this message and the movements before mentioned, we conclude, that slave holders and their abettors are becoming convinced that penal enactments, or abridgement of the right of free discussion, can never be resorted to for the suppression of abolitionists. We do, indeed, rejoice to know that the liberty of speech and of the press, is yet too highly venerated by the majority of northern men, to be offered up on the altar of slavery. So plain have become the manifestations of public sentiment, that it would be a hazardous attempt in any legislature in a free state to make a formal attack on this bulwark of free institutions. When we call to mind, however, what alarming concessions have been made under the pressure of slave holding influences, what revelations of corrupt feeling and opinion have taken place in the north, during the sever trials to which abolitionists have been exposed, and how great has been the number of those who, from prejudice, timidity, sympathy with the oppressor, or for the sake of gaining some party ends, have been willing to violate every inalienable right of the adherents to the anti slavery cause, our joy should be mingled with sorrow and mortification. We should take counsel from the past, and remember, that vigilance and unceasing activity alone, under the blessing of heaven, can secure us hereafter against the machinations of our enemies, and finally crown our cause with complete success.

GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

To the remark which commenced the foregoing paragraph, we behold a striking exception in the message of the lieutenant governor of Virginia. He stills seems disposed to rely on the patriotism of the north, for adopting legislative measures against abolitionists. His late message to the Virginia House of Delegates, bears the marks of a fertile and highly excited imagination. After indulging in a great deal of

poetry concerning the machinations and designs of abolitionists, he states it as his opinion, that if the northern people could be convinced how indispensable to the peace and security of the south was the immediate suppression of the abolitionists, how unreasonable was their peculiar prejudice against any abridgment of the right of free discussion, and how intrinsically proper would be a law to punish those among them who should disturb the tranquillity and safety of other states, they certainly would at once acquiesce in the reasonable demands of slave holders. He therefore advised forbearance on the part of the south, and suggested the propriety of addressing a solemn memorial and remonstrance to the non-slave holding states, admonishing them of the high and inviolable nature of the right of property in human beings—of the malign effects of abolition proceedings on both master and slave—of the jeopardy in which these proceedings placed the Union—of the intrinsic propriety of the measures required by slave holders from their northern brethren—and of the fatal error which infected their minds, in supposing that one government lacks power to punish injuries inflicted by its own subjects upon the citizens of another government. "When this shall have been done," he says, "we shall stand acquitted before the world, of the high responsibility we are under to do all in our power to arrest, if possible, the career of a fanaticism, whose march, unchecked, is over-violated faith—the disregarded rights of the south—the wreck of the Union, and the prostrated cause of liberty itself."

If the suggestion of Mr. Robertson be adopted by the House of Delegates, the strange spectacle will be presented, of a slave holding state endeavoring to convince the free states of the intrinsic propriety of virtually abrogating some of the essential principles of their own organic laws, in order to punish their citizens for endeavoring to convince the people of the slave holding states, of the intrinsic propriety of abolishing an institution not essential to liberty, not created by law, but incidentally recognized as lawful. In other words, a grave legislature, in the adoption of such a remonstrance, would stand convicted of the same crime, which they had charged so zealously upon abolitionists—intermeddling with domestic institutions.

Whether Virginia has adopted the suggestion contained in the message, we are not apprised. We are firmly convinced that the proposed memorial and solemn remonstrance would have no other effect than to enlighten northern legislatures on the absurdities to which slavery will lead, and to give an increased prominence and attractiveness to the cause of anti slavery.

SINGULAR MOVEMENT.

A singular movement has recently been made in this Legislature. In a very striking manner it shows, to what extent slave holders will go in the support of their peculiar system; how many and great sacrifices are demanded for its maintenance; and to what desperation they are driven, at least in Virginia, by the efforts of abolitionists. Judge May, on the second of last February, submitted to the House of Delegates an article of proposed amendments to the constitution of the United States. It was ordered to be printed. The amendments in substance were these: that the powers of Congress over the District of Columbia should not be so construed, as to authorize the abolition of slavery in this place without the consent of the proprietors, or of the states of Virginia and Maryland; that its powers for the regulation of internal commerce should not be so construed as to authorize the passage of any act, forbidding the transportation of slaves from one state into any other, in which slavery may exist; that Congress should have power, and it be made their duty to prevent or punish any assemblage or association of persons in one state for the extinction of slavery in any of the other states, and to enact laws against the printing, circulating or transmission by mail of any publications or pictorials, calculated to produce insurrection among slaves.

Slave holders have been led into strange misconceptions of northern sentiment, by the violent anti-abolition excitement which has prevailed at the north. Party spirit, cupidity, prejudice, a blind attachment to the Union, have led citizens in the free states to great lengths in their opposition to abolitionism, and under the influence of such motives their expressions have been significantly favorable to the slave holder. But these motives, active as they may have been and still are, would hardly withstand the strong indignation which would be kindled in men of every class at the north, by the serious proposal on the part of the Virginia Legislature, of such an amendment as the foregoing. Whether this body has adopted it for recommendation to other states, believing that three-fourths of the legislatures of these states could be induced to give in their acquiescence, we have yet to learn.

We may easily conceive from the above, what would be the course adopted by Congress against abolitionists, should the slave states ever gain the political ascendancy. Nothing is needed but the annexation of Texas to the confederacy, and the ascendancy will have been gained. Abolitionists, nay, the entire liberties of the north, will be at the disposal of the southern aristocracy.

LOUISIANA

Presents the same aspect of concern as the other slave states. The committee appointed to consider that part of the governor's message which related to a southern convention, reported that the time had come when the measure was expedient. We do not know whether the report was adopted.

SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

From what we can learn, the most strenuous advocates for a convention are chiefly to be found in the ranks of the nullification party. On the other hand, that part of the people of the south, which maintains a warm attachment to the Union, is hostile to this measure, as one highly inexpedient at the present period. We believe the Unionists up to this time constitute the majority. Add to this fact the confidence of the democratic party in the south in the professions of Mr. Van Buren, concerning slavery in the states and in the District of Columbia, together with their adherence to the Union, and we think there is satisfactory reason for believing that the project of a southern convention will, at least for the present, be deferred. The probability is, that there will always be a diversity of opinion in the south concerning this movement. It will be a topic of discussion and division. And should those who favor it ever gain the ascendancy, still the minority will be so large as to counteract, to a great extent, the effects of any rash decision to which such a convention might lead.

ARKANSAS.

The first session of the late Congress witnessed the admission of another slave state into the Union. In Arkansas, the attempt has been made to lay the foundation of slavery so deep that it shall put to defiance every effort for its subversion. If the Legislature should feel disposed to pass an act of emancipation, the consent of the proprietor must first be obtained; if the proprietor himself would release his slaves, he must first obtain legal permission. No plea can justify the conduct of the United States in admitting this member to their fellowship. If slavery be a crime, the act of admission involves us as a nation in its guilt. This act we consider a moral sanction on the part of the whole United States to the system of slavery; for it was in their power to grant or withhold the privileges of the Union. It may be said that the right of Arkansas to be received as a slave state, was secured by the Missouri compromise bill, of 1822. But the compromise no more justifies our conduct in this instance, than one sin can

justify any immoral act, its own legitimate product. The compromise itself, convicts this nation of being a slave holding nation. It was a voluntary surrender, by the free states, of all right on their part—a right which had belonged to them in common with the slave holding states—to prevent the establishment of slavery in any state which might be formed south of a certain line; and it was a pledge on their part to admit into a common fellowship with them such state, no matter how deeply contaminated by the evil of slavery. The surrender and the pledge were alike criminal. The admission of Arkansas cannot, therefore, on the ground of such a surrender and pledge, be justified. It rather augments than lessens the guilt of compromise; seeing it is a new product of it, tends to confirm it, and indicates in the people a persistence in transgression which is inexcusable.

TEXAS.

As the slave holding spirit was gratified the first session of the late Congress, by the addition of another slave state to the confederacy, so this session it has achieved a fresh triumph in the recognition of the independence of Texas. When it is considered that one of the chief causes of the Texan insurrection was an inhibition of slavery by the Mexican Government; that a majority of the actors in it were slave holders, speculators in land, or persons notorious for their scandalous habits; that Mexico had not yet abandoned the design of attacking her revolted province; and that its proximity to the United States; the warm and active sympathy expressed by the nation in its behalf; its identity of feeling, institutions and interests with the slave holding portion of our country; and its avowed desire to be annexed to these states, all rendered our Government peculiarly obnoxious to suspicion; it certainly must appear obvious, that the act of recognition, to say no more, has been hasty and unwise. But to our minds, the proceeding conveys more than this. It is an additional evidence of the predominance of a pro-slavery spirit in the national councils; and additional evidence of the low tone of national sentiment in affairs involving the most precious of human rights. No nation, imbued with a just feeling of regard for suffering humanity, with a noble hatred of oppression, would have been in so great haste to do honor to a government which owed its origin in part, to a love of slavery, and had signalized its attachment to this system of oppression, by making it a part of its first business to establish it throughout its territory. Next year may bring up the question of the annexation of this country to the United States. The general sentiment of the south, for many obvious reasons, is in favor of the measure: public opinion at the north is neither so enlightened nor united on the ques-

tion, as is desirable. If upon no other principle than that of opposing the extension of slavery, abolitionists should unite as one man in the most vigilant and vigorous efforts against it. Whatever may be the result of bringing the question before Congress, we may at least anticipate this benefit from it. It will introduce and subject to the most ample discussion, the whole ground of slavery, and its bearings upon the interests of the north and south. So far then as free discussion will be advantageous, abolitionists, in this instance, will probably have abundant reason for being grateful to slave holders, who, in many cases, have been the instruments, blindly indeed, of eliciting the most severe investigation of their tenure of human "property."

CONGRESS.

Congress during the late session, has been the scene of movements peculiarly interesting to the abolitionist. Petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia, far more numerous than at any former period since the rise of abolitionism, were sent in from all the free states. The number of petitioners counted, was more than one hundred and ten thousand. One among the first of the petitions was fairly received. Objections were raised to the reception of others, but various devices were resorted to with the view of evading a direct vote on the question. Mr. Pinckney's resolution had not extended beyond the limits of the preceding session; and it became necessary, as the petitions poured in upon them, to dispose of them all by a summary process. This process, too, must be one of compromise. The more ardent of the slave holders denied the right of petition on the subject, and demanded that the petitions be not received. A few, chiefly from the north, would have them not only received, but referred to a committee for consideration and report. A third, and the largest part, composed on the one hand of moderate slave holders, and on the other of representatives from the free states, distinguished for their moderate attachment to the principles of liberty, devised a compromise resolution, which, while it maintained the form of the right of petition, denied its power. It was adopted by a large majority, and laid all petitions or memorials, relating in any way to the subject of slavery, on the table, prohibiting all further action thereon. The resolution was obviously a virtual denial of the right of petition. It excluded, according to the construction of the speaker, the reading of the petitions and all debate upon them. The speaker, moreover, assumed to himself, the exclusive prerogative of determining whether any petition presented, did or did not relate to slavery; and in the exercise of this prerogative, he, at one time decided, that a petition against the recognition of Texas came within the action of

the resolution, and at another, that the petition of Lutheran ministers from New York, praying the extension of the principles of the declaration of independence to all persons in the district, was disposed of by the same resolution. By these devices, it is plain, that not only the right of petition, but the freedom of debate in the House was palpably abridged. The object of slave holders was thus obtained. Slavery was not to be exposed to light on the floor of Congress; all discussion was excluded.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS..

John Quincy Adams, to whom every patriot should freely award the tribute due to wisdom, years crowned with honor, and a love of freedom indomitable, stood forth on this occasion as the champion of rights, so flagitiously assailed. Vast numbers of petitions sent to him from the district he represented, from his own state, and many other free states, were all faithfully presented, one by one, and he left no effort untried to procure for them a fair hearing and respectful attention. His earnest and repeated attempts to be heard on the right of petition, were as earnestly and repeatedly withheld; and it seemed as if Congress had effectually closed the door on all agitation of the exciting question. But vain are the mightiest efforts to hold captive the spirit of free discussion. A door was unexpectedly opened by slave holders themselves. When they least thought of it, they furnished Mr. Adams with the very means by which, at length he accomplished what he had sought and they had avoided, so long and so studiously. A petition was put into his hand, purporting to be from slaves, and praying that he and his associates might be expelled from the House. Whatever might have been the design of this forgery, for such it was, and the device of southern men; whether to deride Mr. Adams, or dare him to present such a petition, that some chance might offer for bringing him under censure, it became in its results, a most important circumstance.

Mr. Adams said he held in his hand, a petition purporting to be from slaves, and asked the speaker whether it would come within the action of the resolution already spoken of. The speaker said it was a novel question, and it would be proper to take the sense of the House. The excitement which had been so long pent up, now broke forth. The slave holding members became exceedingly irritated, and blinded by passion, were for adopting the most violent measures against Mr. Adams. In their inconsiderate zeal, they transcended every rule of decorum, and for some time the tumult was so great as to bid defiance to the efforts of the reasonable part of the members to restore order. Censure, and even expulsion were seriously talked of;

and Mr. Waddy Thompson, member from South Carolina, openly threatened him with an indictment, as felon and incendiary, before the grand jury of the district of Columbia! At length censure was solemnly proposed in the form of a series of resolutions, as a punishment by no means too severe for such an outrage as Mr. Adams was affirmed to have committed. The absurdity and injustice of a majority of the slave holding members, were strikingly illustrated by the fact, that the reprobatory resolutions proposed to censure an individual for presenting a petition from slaves for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, when neither did the petition pray for this object, nor as yet had it been presented. Their defects soon became so palpable, that amendment upon amendment was suggested, until at length they were so framed as, while they involved questions bearing upon the right of petition, to cast only implied censure on Mr. Adams.

This gentleman now claimed to be heard in his own defence. He had been the subject as well as occasion of all the resolutions brought forward, and it was but bare justice that he should have the privilege of speaking in his own behalf. The privilege, although not without considerable opposition, was granted; and, in a masterly effort, he not only fully sustained himself and exposed the absurdities of his antagonists, but set forth in a peculiarly lucid and conclusive manner, the grounds and true nature of the right of petition. After a great deal of animated debate, in which many of the northern members and certain of the Virginia and Kentucky delegations, manifested an ardent and generous zeal on the side of truth and freedom, the resolutions were lost by an overwhelming majority.

DEEP EXCITEMENT.

After the failure of the resolutions, a deep excitement pervaded the ranks of the slave holding members. They affected to believe that the vote of Congress was a virtual declaration of the right of petition in slaves. Party spirit now began to operate, party fears were awakened, and it was thought proper to make some conciliatory movement. The rejected resolutions were called up for reconsideration; and, after being so amended as to convey not the slightest imputation against John Quincy Adams, as to affirm that slaves have not the right of petition secured to them by the federal constitution, and also to declare the reception of petitions from slaves opposed to the dignity of the House, the rights of the south, and the constitution of the United States, they were passed. .

The first vote we consider to be the true exponent of the opinions of a large majority of the House. It was a vote taken during a state of feeling, in which members, for a time, stood emancipated from the

shackles of party. The second vote, we have little doubt, was chiefly sustained on party grounds. Members had descended from that elevated tone of sentiment which so well became them as the representatives of freemen, and once more submitted their minds to the uniform and discipline of party.

THE DEBATE BENEFICIAL.

We have been thus particular in our notice of this proceeding, because we conceive it has exerted and is destined still to exert an important influence on the prevalence of anti slavery principles. The discussion elicited by it, has served still further to demonstrate the deadly hostility of the genius of slavery to all those rights which are consecrated in the hearts of a free people; and the demonstration has been made precisely where it was most needed—in the national council, before the eyes of men almost blinded by motives of expediency and partisan partialities; before the eyes of the whole nation; in the view of the entire civilized world.

This discussion has taught slave holders that even their most zealous friends at the north cannot sympathize with them beyond a certain limit; that they have not yet rid themselves of the idea that slaves are men; and that hardened as these friends may be by political contests, blinded as they are by party ambition, there is a point beyond which even they will rise up in resistance to the exactions of the slave holding spirit. Plain indications were also given that the south is not a unit; that many of her representatives are hostile to all attempts at disunion; and that southern menaces are apt to abate, when the north speaks out in that tone which its dignity and security demand.

Above all, this discussion has placed abolitionism in the estimation of a large portion of the community, on a higher ground than it was thought to occupy before. It has made it more clearly and widely apparent than ever, that the principles of abolition are identical with the essential principles that lie at the basis of social organization in the north; and that slavery, in its attacks upon the former, becomes the bold invader of the latter.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

The course pursued by Mr. Van Buren in relation to abolitionism, ought not to create surprise. For the pledges made to the south in his inaugural message and the tone of his remarks concerning the present anti slavery excitement, we were fully prepared by reference to previous acts in his political career. This message will hardly be a serious obstacle in the way of abolitionists, although the tone in which he

speaks of the outrages to which they have been subject, will undoubtedly instigate their persecutors to additional violence.

The fact will stand out as a curious one on the page of history, that in the nineteenth century, the only pledge the newly elected President of the freeest republic on earth deemed it expedient to make with a view of retaining and gaining adherents was, to perpetuate the slavery of six thousand human beings, even in direct opposition to a majority in both the legislative branches of the Government. How strongly this fact bespeaks the infection of our republic, by the spirit of slavery, we leave every one to judge for himself.

PERSECUTION.

During the past year, the spirit of persecution has displayed itself in aggravated outrages against abolitionists, in various parts of our country, but especially in this state. The narrative of the operations of the Cincinnati mob is already before the public. The violent proceedings against our press, and members of the Executive Committee constitute an example of a cool, deliberate, systematic invasion of private right and public peace, almost without a precedent in the history of this republic. They were not the result of impulse, not the sudden, unpremeditated outbursts of popular fury. Men of every class, every degree, of most dissimilar habits, religious and irreligious, were deeply concerned in them. Party differences were laid aside; sectarianism forgot her jealousies, and men who had never mingled together before, felt an unwonted sympathy with each other in the common determination to arrest the publication of the *Philanthropist*.

PREDISPOSING CAUSE OF MOBS.

The predisposing cause of mobs in all countries, is the licentiousness of the populace. There is a certain class in every community to whom the restraints of law and good order are irksome. They rejoice to be unfettered, and their delight is to work mischief. So long, however, as the better classes manifest a wholesome regard for the laws and a determined abhorrence of the slightest trespass upon them, licentiousness is held in check. But let them, in any case, speak lightly of legal restraint, indulge prejudice or hatred to such an extent that it becomes apparent, they prefer tumultuous violence to the undisturbed prosperity of the objects of their dislike, and presently the effect of such conduct begins to be visible. The multitude take the hint, are agitated, give indications of meditated outrage, and then rush forth in a career of open violence. Recent experience in this country has demonstrated that the conservatism of our better classes

is not impeccable, and that an American populace is as liable to commotion as the populace of the most corrupt countries.

OTHER CAUSES.

But additional circumstances must be taken into consideration, in explaining the frequency and virulence of the mobs against abolitionists. The two leading causes which operate on the more respectable portions of the community, so as to induce them, at times, virtually to proscribe and outlaw the advocates of anti slavery, are interest, and prejudice against the colored man. With the populace, interest has less to do than prejudice and a blind attachment to the Union. When unenlightened, idolatrous regard for the Union has indeed been actively operative on men of high and low degree, inducing them to entertain feelings of strong animosity towards abolitionism, which they have imagined to be a scheme subversive in its tendencies of the integrity of this republic.

CINCINNATI.

In Cincinnati, the action of all these causes was peculiarly manifest. Its commerce, in various ways, is intimately and extensively involved with the south, and within a short period preceding the mob, plans were in progress to multiply and strengthen its commercial connections with the southern markets; so that a strong pecuniary interest rose up against the agitation of any question which threatened to disturb the harmony between the city and her southern neighbors. The strife which then prevailed between the two great political parties, each party endeavoring to conciliate southern favor by its severe reprobation of abolitionism, augmented the existing excitement against abolitionists. Add to these circumstances the common feeling of prejudice against the negro, and we have a fair representation of the leading motives, so far as we can judge, which prevailed on many of the influential citizens of Cincinnati to adopt a system of proscription against abolitionists. This prejudice, it should be remarked, is peculiarly strong in Cincinnati, from obvious causes. The city is greatly southerized in feeling by its proximity and multiplied relations to the slave holding states, and a considerable part of its population is composed of emigrants from those states, who bring with them their accustomed ideas of the negro's degradation. We will not say that other and less inexcusable motives had no share in the instigation of the outrages against our press. Undoubtedly, a few might have believed that a just regard for the interests of the south and for the

preservation of the federal Union warranted a resort to violence, in order to suppress abolitionism.

RESULT.

All these malign influences had their appropriate effect. Abolitionists were hated, reviled, misrepresented and proscribed. Their schemes were denounced as incendiary, revolutionary, destructive of the vital interests of the nation, subversive of the Union, calling loudly for the efficient, counteracting interposition of every true patriot. Suitable measures were taken to arouse the prejudice and indignation of the populace. Abolitionists were stigmatized as a few, obscure interlopers, foreigners hostile to our institutions, traitors with hands defiled by British gold, amalgamationists, &c. The political papers of the city, with a single exception, teemed with abuse, and one press was untiring in its advocacy of a resort to popular violence. Its incendiary voice was unrebuted; the spirit of toleration seemed to have forsaken the community. Midnight placards were posted up, in ominous language, warning abolitionists to desist from the prosecution of their enterprise; and at one time a handbill appeared, offering a reward, in peculiarly offensive terms, for the person of a member of the executive committee. All this passed unrebuted by a single token of disapprobation in any portion of the community.

Under such powerful stimulants, the licentious spirit of the multitude was fully aroused. The result is known. A public meeting was called; influential citizens were present and engaged in its proceedings. A mob followed; respectable citizens had adopted a course of conduct that inevitably led to it, and yet declined to interpose to arrest its career of violence.

BRIEF REVIEW.

The first thought that strikes the mind, on a review of the various occurrences we have noticed, is the multiplicity of objects which engage the attention of abolitionists. A little reflection will suffice to show that, in attending to such objects, they have in no degree diverged from their original, great design—the extinction of slavery. The effects of this evil are not confined to the slave holding region, but are felt in many ways throughout the free states, and their existence here clearly tends to energize and perpetuate the whole system. To direct effort to the removal of the effects, is one of the best means of circumscribing and finally extinguishing the system itself. Abolitionists believe that the corrupting influences of slavery are to be seen in the silence of a majority of the northern churches in relation to slav-

very, and the absolute recession of many of them from the noble ground they once maintained on this subject; in the refusal of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and its virtual denial of the right of petition as it regards this legitimate subject; in the present mode of recapturing fugitives from labor; in the unjust and oppressive laws of many of the states against colored citizens; in the proscriptive legislation in some places against abolitionists; and in the meditated invasion of their most sacred rights under legal forms, and the actual invasion of them by mobs. In these and many other ways, has the spirit of slavery been actually operating, and in these ways it is to be met and repelled. Let the entire church in the free states be redeemed from all compromise with slavery—let its anathemas be uttered without reservation and without ceasing against the entire system of oppression—let Congress entertain petitions for the emancipation of slaves within the limits of their constitutional jurisdiction, and remove the evil complained of—let the right of trial by jury be secured to the person claimed as a fugitive slave—let color no longer be a badge of infamy, a presumption of slavery, or a bar to citizenship—let the right of assembling together to consult for the common good, the liberty of speech and of the press, and the sacredness of the mail, no longer be menaced by legislatures or outraged by popular fury—and let it be known to the holder of slaves that the very moment he causes his slave to put his foot on any part of the free soil of the north, that moment “his chains fall off and slavery expires;” and it is plain, southern slavery would be shaken to its very foundation; the year of jubilee to the captive could not long linger.

All these, then, are legitimate objects. They are objects which abolitionists, if they would be consistent, must not cease to contend for.

AN APPROPRIATE ANSWER.

The review furnishes an appropriate answer, we conceive, to the charge made against abolitionists of interfering with the domestic institutions of the south. Slavery first interfered with the domestic institutions of the north. It has no attribute that can harmonize with the exemplifications of free principles; and in every possible mode it has alloyed the spirit of northern liberty, perverted the application of principles acknowledged to lie at the basis of northern institutions, and corrupted the sentiments of northern people. Slavery has been the aggressor, and abolitionism is, in reality, a scheme of defensive warfare against its inroads. It assails slavery, because it has been the aggressor; it assails it, because its influence must ever be destructive to the liberty of the north; it assails it, because in pleading for the

emancipation of the slave, it becomes the strong tower of the liberties of the free.

We also learn that this proud republic requires regeneration. The principles on which her political institutions are based, are almost faultless in character; the same cannot be said of her practice. The business of abolitionists is to strike at those corruptions in legislation or policy which do not conform to the beautiful theory of our social organization—to make this republic as free in fact, as it is in hypothesis. Our report shows in how many points the primary principle, that all men are created free and equal, has failed to exert its legitimate influence on the social condition of even the free states; and how diversified and ardent have been the labors of abolitionists to bring this principle to bear universally. In many, in nearly all the instances mentioned, they have been at once defeated and victorious. They have not gained the points contended for, but they have made rapid advances towards them. Only let these efforts be as steady as they have been timely and ardent, and we shall soon have to record, that the legislation of our country, instead of being inequitable and inconsistent, is pervaded by that wisdom which is without partiality and hypocrisy.

CONCLUSION.

Your committee, in conclusion, would say, that while in the aspect of the times they see much to awaken the liveliest concern and zeal, they see nothing to depress the hopes of the true philanthropist. They will not venture the opinion that the severest conflict is over. They deem it not improbable, that more fearful perils await abolitionists than any that have yet befallen them. The spirit of persecution is still active in nearly all the free states, and in Ohio it has recently displayed itself in acts of a peculiarly ferocious character. But its very ferocity furnishes ground for the belief that its reign will be short. The reaction of the virtuous mass of the community will be speedy in proportion to the proscriptive violence of the mob. However numerous and severe the trials that may be in reservation for us, we still have sufficient confidence in the strength of the awakening virtue of the people of the free states, in the fortitude of abolitionists, in the power of truth, and, above all, in the ruling energy of an all wise God, to believe that the despotism of the majority will speedily be overthrown, and that, within a comparatively short period, the doctrines and spirit of abolitionism will pervade the mass of the people in the non slave holding states. We are not willing to ascribe the strenuous opposition in these states, encountered by the anti slavery cause, to any affection for the principle of slavery; nor do we construe it into

an indication of a general disaffection to free principles. Misconception of the true nature of abolitionism, excess of sympathy for the slave holder, and other more reprehensible motives, may, during the paroxysm of excitement, have impelled to the public expression of sentiments and feelings, peculiarly humiliating to the sincere and enlightened patriot. But this is an unnatural condition of things: it cannot endure long. Abolitionism will soon be better understood; inordinate sympathy for the slave holder will not long mislead the citizens of the free states. The people of the north and west will yet rally with fresh devotion around their free institutions, prizing liberty the more, that, in an hour of unnatural excitement, they had been beguiled into an apparent approbation of American slavery. In some places, as we have seen, this wholesome reaction has already commenced. One year ago, in Massachusetts, the anti abolition excitement would have prevented the passage of the resolutions, adopted at the last session of its legislature, protesting against the course of Congress in relation to abolition petitions. The people of other states will soon perceive the absurdity of permitting their hatred of abolitionism to lessen their attachment to their own institutions, or to induce neglect of the means necessary to secure them against insult and injury. When they shall thus have recovered their wonted tone of feeling, then may we expect that the anti slavery cause will be known, valued and embraced according to its real merits.

STATEMENT OF THE LOCAL OPERATIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY.

It is proper to make a brief statement of the operations of your committee from the time of their appointment up to this period.

In pursuance of a resolution of the society at its last anniversary, an arrangement was effected, May 3, 1836, with Mr. Birney, publisher of the Philanthropist, by which this paper became the property and the organ of the Anti Slavery Society of Ohio, under the editorial management of its former proprietor. The cost of its printing, at this time, was not above the ordinary rates.

Measures were taken immediately after the adjournment of the society, for the publication of its anniversary proceedings. Two thousand copies were published of the full report of its proceedings,

including Rankin's Address to the Churches, and Thome's Address to the Ladies of Ohio. Each of these Addresses was also published, in a separate form, to the extent of three thousand copies.

In the judgment of the committee, it was thought expedient to establish, in Cincinnati, a depository for the more effectual dissemination of anti slavery principles, through the medium of books, pamphlets and papers. With this view, the stock of publications on hand at the Depository of the Cincinnati Anti Slavery Society, was purchased, and orders were forwarded to the American Anti Slavery Society, at New York, for a various assortment of books, &c. which were subsequently received.

During the session of the general conference in Cincinnati, the very interesting proceedings took place, to which allusion has already been made. The Rev. Orange Scott delivered, on this occasion, a speech, which he subsequently reported, together with a brief account of so much of the debate as was connected with it. The speech possessed great merit; and in view of the influence it would probably exert on members of the conference and of the Methodist church generally, the committee felt themselves warranted in publishing it. One thousand copies were printed in pamphlet form, and for the most part distributed gratuitously.

Subsequently, a report of the whole debate on the subject of modern abolitionism in this body, was published from notes taken on the spot by the present editors of the paper. In this measure, the committee felt themselves justified, when they considered the singular developments to which the debate gave rise, and the probable effects it would have on the community, by reason of the commanding position occupied by the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was printed in pamphlet form to the number of three thousand copies.

In the latter part of July, a number of persons at midnight, broke into the building in which our printer had placed his press, and injured this so much, that a new one became necessary. The sum required for procuring it was advanced by the committee. Not long after the printing office and depository were destroyed by a mob, which occasioned great loss to the committee.

The committee now resolved to suspend the publication of the Philanthropist, until circumstances should warrant its resumption. Meanwhile a narrative of the riotous proceedings, anterior to, and accompanying the destruction of the press, was prepared and published by the committee, in pamphlet form. Four thousand copies of it were struck off, and a large portion of them distributed gratuitously.

In the interval, also, the committee engaged, as lecturers on anti-slavery, the Rev. James H. Dickey, and the Rev. David Eastman. The former operated for two, and the latter for three months, the salary of

each being at the rate of \$600 per annum and travelling expenses. We have reason to believe that their labors were attended with good effect.

At length, in September, the resumption of the publication of the Philanthropist was resolved on. Mr. Pugh was again employed; but prudence, as well as the impossibility of procuring a suitable house for printing operations, owing to the unwillingness of people to risk their property for anti slavery purposes, induced the committee to select Springborough, Warren county, as the most eligible place for the mechanical execution of the paper. The expenses incurred by the removal of the printing apparatus to this place, and its subsequent return to Cincinnati, were considerable. The cost of printing was also increased, incidental expenses were multiplied, and as the paper was still mailed in Cincinnati, its delivery in this place was a source of an additional weekly expense. The cost and inconvenience at length became so burdensome, that the committee deemed it advisable to close the contract, and compensate the printer for any damages he might suffer from such a measure. The damages were estimated at \$200, by arbitrators, which sum was rendered to Mr. Pugh without delay.

Very soon after the resumption of the publication of the Philanthropist, at the request of Mr. Birney, and by the appointment of the executive committee, the present corresponding secretary of the society, was associated with the senior editor, in the editorial management of the paper, and he was also commissioned to superintend the business concerns of the society. C. K. Bushnell had been previously employed in the Depository, and G. Bailey had been appointed corresponding secretary, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of A. Wattles. Both these were employed at regular salaries—C. K. Bushnell at \$1400, and G. Bailey at \$600 per annum.

A new printer was now engaged; but as the committee had concluded not to suffer themselves in future to be trifled by guarantees, they found it necessary to substitute a weekly per centage on the bill rendered by the printer, as an equivalent for his risk. The percentage increased very considerably the cost of publication; but as it was to terminate at the end of six months, they thought it would be better than to grant a guaranty, which would lay them more open to the assaults of the mob.

About this time, Dr. Channing addressed a letter to Jas. G. Birney, with which the society is already acquainted. Under the impression that an extensive circulation of this letter would be productive of much benefit, a large pamphlet edition of it was printed.

Sometime in March, Mr. Donogh, our printer, becoming dissatisfied at the terms on which he had engaged to print the paper, desired a guaranty against damages. This was refused, the connexion between us dissolved, and new printers were engaged, the same who are now

employed in the execution of the paper. These print without percentage or guaranty; but owing to the smallness of the type they use, and the consequently greater amount of matter contained in the paper, the cost of printing is a few dollars higher than it would otherwise be.

The last publication of your committee is the speech of Mr. Chase, in the recent slave case in Cincinnati, of which a full account has been given in the columns of the Philanthropist. This speech they considered a sound and vigorous argument, well calculated to enlighten the public mind, on various important constitutional questions, affecting the re-capture of fugitive slaves, and the rights of our colored citizens; and to prepare the way for the establishment of the right of trial by jury IN ALL CASES, and a repeal of the oppressive statutes in relation to the free people of color. A pamphlet edition of two thousand copies was issued, and distributed extensively, not only in Ohio, but in the two states west of it, as well as in other states.

In December last, the state of the treasury made it necessary to employ a financial agent. M. R. Robinson was employed in this character by the committee at the usual salary, with instructions to collect unredeemed pledges, obtain donations, procure subscribers to the Philanthropist, and by lecturing, and in every proper way, promote the interests of the anti slavery cause in this state. So faithfully did he perform the duties of his appointment, and so important was such an agency, that on the expiration of the term for which he was appointed, his commission was renewed, and he is now in the employment of the committee.*

It now remains that we should inform the society of the institution of legal proceedings against the rioters engaged in the destruction of the press last summer. Suits were commenced in the course of the last fall, and counsel employed. The trials, it is supposed, will come on at the June term of the court of common pleas for Hamilton county. This measure was enjoined by a regard to future security, as well as to the interests of the society, of whose property the committee were the trustees.

The executive committee have not been idle. They have contended, and are still contending under great disadvantages, against a strong and almost relentless opposition, for the maintenance of their position and operations in Cincinnati. They trust that the simple statement they have given of the objects to which they have appropriated the monies of the society, will be at once satisfactory to members, and a motive with them to prompt and liberal contributions.

* Mr. Robinson having resigned immediately after the anniversary, Mr. Weed is now acting in his place.

OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE IN
CINCINNATI, BY AMZI D. BARBER, APRIL 27, 1837.

The writer of this report feels it a duty, that he owes to himself, the colored people, and the friends of the schools, to say he never expected to be called upon to make a statement of this kind; hence he has not kept a record of facts that would have been highly interesting.

For an account of the oppressive laws, cruelties, frauds, and disabilities of various kinds, to which this class of the community have been subject—owing to a cruel and relentless prejudice, and to the ignorance and weakness of this people, as a whole—individuals are referred to the Putnam report of 1835. On these subjects that report is a valuable document.

Although it is true, in every particular, yet so far as it relates to the character of the people, it presents only the *bright side* of the picture. Their character, then, had not been fully developed. That report was made before the novelty of elevation had passed off.

Having been shut up in the prison of oppression—shrouded in mental and moral darkness, as might be expected, the sunlight of kindness, science and religion, dazzled their eyes. Every energy was aroused, and every nerve exerted. But the novelty has passed away: it is now a sober reality. To break up old habits and form new ones—to give up long cherished prejudices—to subdue and bring into happy sub serviency the passions, so long nurtured by oppression—to act from principle instead of impulse—to root out growing jealousy and cold-hearted neglect, and to cherish brotherly love, kindness, meekness, benevolence and humility; is a work that calls for *self-denying, persevering and protracted effort*. It is no trivial affair to pluck out *right eye sins*. Many were willing to follow the Saviour, when hosannah'd by the multitude; but when they found that they must give up *all* for Christ, “they walked no more with him.” Thus we might expect it would be with the colored people. When they supposed their friends were about to take them in their arms, and carry them up the hill of elevation, their united voice was “*we will go;*” but when they understood that they must *climb* the ascent—must “*toil and be strong;*” some said “this is a hard saying, who can hear it?” It is not meant by this that the colored people have ceased to regard the teachers as their friends, or to repose confidence in them. Far from it. During the “reign of terror” in Cincinnati, the President of a certain society was bribed to attach the names of the members of the society to some odious resolutions, severely censuring the

abolitionists, and wishing them to have no more to do with the colored people. Never was there a more indignant people. A meeting of the society was immediately called, the president expelled, and a disclaimer published in the city papers, although by so doing they endangered their property and lives.

What we mean is this:—that some of the colored people love their sins too well to be elevated. It would require a moral earthquake to induce some of them to arouse from their lethargy, and put away their iniquities.

Slavery and the northern prejudice constitute a *high school* for the cultivation of *deceit and every evil passion*. The institution is liberally endowed, and well furnished with professors and apparatus. As the various arts of deception and the cultivation of the passions, are the *only sciences* taught, as might be expected, the pupils are thoroughly versed in these studies.

Such has been the school in which this class of our citizens has been trained. If we sow to the passions, is it strange that we should reap a crop of the same? Those who come from the south to attend school, are more irritable than those who live at the north. They seem to think it a disgrace, not to revenge an insult, and any little thing is construed into an insult. Parents seldom correct, save in a passion. As *they were governed by physical force*, they know no other method to secure the obedience of their children, but to make them fear the whip. They seem almost entirely ignorant of *moral power*. They do not seem to know that mind was designed to be moved by motive. Children have been taught to return blow for blow. A woman from the South, who came to send her daughter to school, said to her when about to separate, "Now, if you let any body whip you, except the man with whom you board, and your teacher, without FIGHTING them, I will whip your skin off when you come home." What can we expect when children are thus taught? And *whence did this mother derive her system of government and instruction?*

There is a great want of confidence in each other. This presents a serious obstacle in the way of their improvement, and greatly aggravates their sufferings. I have known two or three evenings spent until 12 o'clock at night, in church meeting, settling some little trifling affair that people in general would not notice. Their sympathies are dried up, conscience smothered, and the heart calloused. In short, the whole machinery of the soul, instead of presenting that beautiful symmetry and harmony which it originally exhibited, now presents the most *frightful disorder and discord*.

This is but a faint picture of the condition into which the withering influence of *slavery* has brought this people; and these are a few of the obstacles with which we have had to contend.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE.

SCHOOLS.—One of the present teachers has been employed in this field one year and six months, and the others nine months. Hence we cannot give a definite report of all that has been done since 1835, as we mean to testify only to what we have *seen* and *known*.

Since January 1, 1836, five teachers have been employed a part, and four all the time. Some of the schools have been discontinued for several weeks during the past year for want of suitable school rooms. At length, the education society fitted up an old house, but it is in a very unhealthy place and the rooms quite too small to accommodate those who wish to attend. Forty or fifty pupils are crowded into a room twenty-two by sixteen feet, and about seven feet high.

In giving a report of the schools, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we are not giving an account of the same pupils that were spoken of in the report of 1835. Brother Wattles, who then taught the school for boys and young men, visited the school now kept for the same class, and out of seventy pupils, found only *five* that attended his school. This constant change of scholars is one of the most serious obstacles under which we labor.

Many of the parents are *poor*, and unable to continue their children in school, consequently, they are sent on the *river*, and exposed (as all know) to the *most pernicious* influences.

About *three hundred* scholars have been taught within the past year, forty of whom were from the south. Not more than one hundred and sixty, however, have attended in any one term. During the last quarter, one hundred and thirty-one have attended.

It requires much more labor to teach the schools, than it *would* if the *same* pupils could be kept in school.

In order to give an accurate account of the progress of the schools, we should have to give a separate report of each quarter.

Report of A. D. Barber's School, commencing January 1st, 1836, to April 1st, 1837.

Whole No.	Reading.	Writing.	Geography.	History.	Arithmetic.
1st Term, 45	16	10	5	3	16
2d " 55	40	30	8	12	18
3d " 60	50	31	8	16	30
4th " 65	50	30	Geo. & His.	20	35
5th " 75	50	35	2	18	35

Number of different scholars, during this time, one hundred and sixty-one.

As the other schools have frequently changed teachers, we cannot give so definite a report. The school for young women was taught by Miss Matthews and Miss Lowe until July, succeeded by Miss

Rakestraw, (subsequently Mrs. Robinson) assisted, successively, by Emily Smith and Florilla A. Wright.

Report as follows:

Scholars. Reading. Writing. Geo. & His. Grammar. Arithmetic
1st and 2d terms, not known.

3d term,	60	40	30	29	2	25
4th "	56	40	28	20	9	28
5th "	56	34	24	16	6	19

Whole number of different pupils one hundred and sixty-one.

The Infant School was taught by Miss Bishop until June, and succeeded by Harriet Hunter, (formerly a pupil in Miss Matthews' school,) and subsequently by Emeline McConnell, Florilla Wright, and for the last term by Samuel Webster, a colored young man, educated by President McGuffey.

Scholars.	Read.	Write.
1st and 2d terms not known.		
3d term,	40	20
4th "	40	20
5th "	25	13

Many facts might be stated relative to the progress of the pupils; a few, however, will serve as a specimen.

One young woman learned her letters in less than a day, and in six months could read in easy lessons with tolerable facility. Ten or twelve learned to write, quite legibly, in six weeks, and pursued their studies at the same time.

One girl, fifteen or sixteen years of age, wrote a letter to her mother within ten days after she first took her pen in hand to learn. She found some difficulty, at first, in making it readable, but soon saw the difficulty consisted in not having her "words stand by themselves." This she remedied, and succeeded in writing her letter with tolerable accuracy. Boys, seven or eight years of age, have, in several instances, learned their letters in two days, and spelt in three syllables and read in easy lessons by the close of the quartet. Several married people have attended school, and it is affecting to see most of them study. They seldom look off their books, except to hear some remarks or explanations from their teacher. One man, about thirty-five years of age, came to school in the morning, and was asked if he had studied. "I don't know," was his reply, "I studied a little bit at it. I sat up last night and got up a great while before day."

One old woman would rise early, do a day's washing, and go to school in the afternoon.* And here we wish to be distinctly understood.

* One teacher said "I never knew a class succeed better in explaining the sum in Colburn's Arithmetic, than one in the school for young women."

stood. Intelligent men and teachers from the country have assured us that our scholars are more forward than those of the country schools. Gentlemen, who attended the examination of the city schools, after hearing a class of colored boys, declared that they passed a better examination than those of the same age in the city schools. Yet we do not suppose that they learn any faster, generally, than white children. We find idle, reckless scholars here, as well as in other schools. For instance: one young woman said she did "not love to come to school, or to study. She came only to please her mother." Her actions corroborated her statement, and her conduct was such that she was expelled from the school. The same motives that influence other minds will influence theirs. One year ago, it was no uncommon thing to have two or three cases of quarreling in a week; now, I have not had that number for the last six months. During that time, not a case has occurred, except with scholars just entered the school. There is a manifest change in the disposition of my pupils. When the white boys used to throw brick-bats and missiles at them, they returned the same. Now they have learned a more excellent way to put down their enemies—the gospel method of *loving them to death*. This method, they find, succeeds much better than the former. *Love* has done what *force could never do*. They are very seldom molested now, and when they are, they pay no attention to it, but pass on.

The following extract from a composition written by a boy thirteen years of age, (of his own accord) shows how they now feel about rendering evil for evil.

"When we go to and from school, we ought not to play by the way nor throw stones in the streets; we might accidentally strike some persons and injure them very much, and then we might get into some difficulty. When the white boys try to raise a fuss with us, we ought to go along like we do not hear nor see them, then they will get quite sick of doing such things."

RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES.

From the 1st of January, 1836, to the 1st of November, our friends contributed \$423 61 cents; and the Education Society paid for the same time \$401—making in all \$824 61 cents.

The schools in debt for expenses incurred the previous year, 1835,	\$200 00
Expenses for rent, fuel, &c. for 1836,	289 29
	Amount, 489 29
This subtracted from the whole amount raised, (\$824 61,) leaves	

\$355 32 cents for the teachers, or about seven dollars and a half per month for each teacher to pay expenses of *board* and *clothing*.

About the first of November, new arrangements were made, by which the Education Society pledged themselves to pay \$600 for the support of schools for the ensuing year. In pursuance of this arrangement, the Education Society have paid the schools, from the 1st of November up to the 15th of April, 1837, \$218; and we have received from friends, during the same time, \$77 92, making \$295 92. Rent, fuel, and other necessary expenses, \$90, leaving \$205 92, or *six dollars eighty-six cents* per month to each teacher for board and clothing. This has been insufficient, and one of the teachers has been under the necessity of instructing in a white school, one hour per day, to keep clear of debt.

The whole amount raised by the colored people for 1835, was only \$150. But on the first of January, 1836, they formed an Education Society, the object of which, as set forth in the constitution, "is the support of schools and the education of orphans and destitute children." "Individuals of both sexes shall be admitted as members of this society. The males by paying the sum of one dollar, and the females by paying fifty cents." Besides this, each male member pays twenty-five cents per month, and each female twelve and a half cents, making three dollars a year for each male member, and one dollar and fifty cents for each female.

An executive committee is appointed by the society to receive tuition in advance at two dollars per quarter, and give tickets of admission. The whole amount raised by this society, from its formation up to the present time, (including tuition of scholars,) is \$794 33. The business has been conducted wholly by themselves, and with an ability and regularity that would do honor to any society. The society is increasing in numbers, influence and usefulness.

Besides supporting the schools, the people have erected a neat and commodious church within the last year, and yet it is believed they own more property than they did one year ago. There is more industry and less extreme poverty. It is one of the best signs indicative of their elevation, to see them leaving the corrupting influences of the city and river, and engaging in agricultural and mechanical employments. Above twenty have purchased land in Mercer county.

TEMPERANCE.

The cause of temperance, we believe, has been slowly but gradually advancing. As the secretary has lent the constitution of the society, I am not able to state definitely the number of members, but think there are about three hundred.¹ Lawyer Starr, after hearing the report

for last year, said it was the most interesting report he had heard during the year. This society forbids the use of *all* intoxicating drinks. Some have broken their pledge, and will be expelled unless they reform. Several others who were habitual drunkards, are now sober, industrious men, and provide well for their families.

A gentleman asked two colored men, the other morning, if they would not like to buy some cheap spirits. "No," was the reply; "we would not sell it if you would give it to us and pay us ten per cent. for selling it." President McGuffey, in delivering a temperance lecture to the colored people a few evenings since, remarked, that "during a residence of six months in the city, he had not seen a colored man intoxicated."

MORAL REFORM.

There *was*, and *still is* a great want of effort to promote moral purity. It is a wonder that the colored people are not much more licentious than they are. Having been taught, at the south, that marriage is *dishonorable*, and a breach of the seventh commandment *praise-worthy*—having been told they must always be "*a despised race*," consequently, they have no character to lose—having been consigned, by public sentiment, to the libertine, as beasts of prey. **NAY, MORE**—having been shut out of all honorable employments, and thus deprived of means for making a *virtuous* living, is it strange that the steps of many take hold on death and hell? I know one man who is employed by libertines to decoy and draw from the paths of virtue colored females. I do not know as the colored people are more licentious than the whites; but if they are, is there not a cause? We rejoice to say that the efforts made to promote moral purity, have been blessed beyond our most sanguine expectations.

The following is an extract from the preamble and constitution of the Moral Reform Society, drawn up by O. T. B. Nickens, *a colored man*.

"Convinced that immorality has a peculiarly debasing tendency, exposing its victims to all the evils that afflict human society, bringing upon them the odium and abhorrence of the intelligent, pious and virtuous, as well as the severe judgments of heaven; therefore, we agree to unite in a social combination, and we adopt and will be governed by the following instrument as our constitution.

"ART. 1. This association shall be known as the Moral Reform Society of the colored citizens of Ohio.

"ART. 2. The object of the society shall be, the suppression of intemperance, licentiousness, gambling, sabbath-breaking, blasphemy, and all other vices.

"ART. 3. Persons of both sexes shall become members by signing and pledging themselves to conform to the principles of this constitution, but shall not be recognised as members when they neglect or refuse to comply with its requisitions.

"ART. 5. It shall be the duty of the Executive—1st. To strictly watch over the affairs of the society and members, admonishing them to maintain the true principles of morality and integrity. 2nd. To impress on the minds, as far as practicable, the importance of temperance, morality, virtue and industry. 3d. To urge upon parents the propriety of bringing up their children in conformity to the principles herein set forth. 4th. To admonish, discreetly, the youth among us, to refrain from immoral and vicious habits. 5th. To use their utmost endeavors and influence to roll back the inundating current of depravity and misery, by breaking their *fruitful fountains*."

The whole number which have joined the society since its formation, is one hundred and fifty-two. Seven have been expelled for breaking the second article. Monthly meetings have been held, lectures delivered, and, we believe, great good effected. Five dollars were raised by the society to procure seven copies of the Advocate of Moral Reform, to be circulated among the members.

The following is taken from the records of October 17th.—

"Rev. David Nickens, (the pastor of the colored Baptist church,) delivered an excellent sermon, discriminating between *nominal* and *real* morality. He concluded by proposing the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

"*Resolved*, That the only firm basis on which the Moral Reform Society can stand securely, and effect the desired end, is the *benign principles of religion*."

January 18, 1837.—The following resolution was passed without a dissenting vote:

"*Resolved*, That we will treat the licentious of both sexes alike; and while we use the most vigorous efforts to reform any who may have wandered from the path of virtue, we *will not associate with either sex*, until we have evidence of sincere repentance and abandonment of their sins.

SABBATH SCHOOLS.

There are two very interesting sabbath schools under the care of their friends. For want of teachers, we hold one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Above one hundred attend one school, and about sixty the other. Many more would attend if suitable teachers could be obtained. Sometimes there are thirty or forty scholars without a teacher. It is truly heart-rending to see these persons

come seeking instruction, and no one found to teach them. One old lady said, with tears in her eyes, "I want to learn to read, so that I can read those sweet promises in God's word." If any people need the consolations afforded by the sweet promises in the Holy Scriptures, it is this. Many of them have children, husbands or wives, in slavery, and they would rejoice to hear that *death had emancipated them*. A mother received a letter a short time since, containing an account of the death of a beloved child. "*Bless God*," she exclaimed, "I prayed that he would take them all away." Many a sleepless night has this mother spent, in thinking of her children. Another woman received a letter from her mother, saying that one of her brothers had been knocked down *dead*, and while he lay in the agonies of death, the master knocked down another, and it was doubtful whether he would recover. She said, "I wish he had killed the other." As far I can judge from the language and appearance of those who have friends in slavery, they regard *violent death* as one of the "*tender mercies of the system*." Do not persons in such circumstances need the consolations of religion?

Truly, "the harvest is plenteous, but the laborers are few." There have been several hopeful conversions during the year. Several of the barbers have closed their shops on the Sabbath.

GENERAL REMARKS.

It is frequently said the intellectual faculties of the colored people are not equal to those of the whites. A single fact may, in part, account for this. Where colored children live out at service, they are seldom sent to school more than two or three half days in the week. Now, if they do not learn as fast as the white children, who attend all the time, why *soooth*, they *must be inferior*.

"But they are such thievish, vicious creatures, there is no living with them." Well, because we occasionally see a colored man intoxicated, must we brand the *whole* with infamy and disgrace?

A few months since, while on my way to visit a colored settlement in Shelby county, I heard a man saying "the blacks were so bad, and stole so there, they *must be driven off*." On arriving at the place, I was informed by Mr. Cardell (a trustee of the town) that they were as good neighbors as any he had. Mr. Forshee, (a worthy member of the Methodist church) farther informed me, that there were more colored people than white in the neighborhood, yet "within the last two years, six white men had been arrested for stealing, and only *two blacks*"—yet there was nothing said about the *whites* being vicious. We do not mean to insinuate by this, that the colored people are not vicious as well as the whites; but we mean to give honor to whom honor is due.

Nor do we justify their continuance in sin. *Far from it.* Light is breaking in upon them; and if they do not awake from their lethargy, and put away their abominations, a fearful doom awaits them!

But the success attending the feeble efforts, already made by their friends to elevate them, shows most conclusively that they are not only made of "one blood" with ourselves, but that they are endowed with the same susceptibilities for mental and moral improvement.

Allowing it to be a fact, then, that they *are* as vicious as their enemies represent them—*what then?* Why, evidently, OUR OPPRESSION HAS MADE THEM SO. Are they insolent? Not to their friends. I have not received an insolent word from a colored man during my abode in Cincinnati. Are they sabbath breakers? This is the *only* day the slave has to earn for himself, or to visit his friends. Is it not natural for a child to walk in the way in which it was taught? Are they thieves? They have been robbed of their time, their wives, their children, their bodies and their souls,—then, why should they not learn to steal? Are they deceitful? The art of deception was the most prominent branch of their education. Are they passionate? Well, if ten degrees of prejudice and oppression have made them as ferocious as tigers, how many degrees of the same will it take to make them *mild as lambs, and harmless as doves?*

Mr. Picket remarks, in his address to the college of teachers, that "no convulsion in nature is so appalling, or so destructive, as that which springs from fiery human passion." What, then, must be the character of that institution which cultivates, to the highest degree, the most malignant passions? He who kills a man inflicts a slight evil upon society, in comparison with him who makes his victim a murderer, and sends him forth to imbrue his hands in innocent blood. We wish those who think the evils of slavery have been exaggerated, could see what we have seen, and they would involuntarily exclaim, "the HALF never was told us!" Talk of exaggerating the horrors of the Spanish inquisition, or the bloody wars of Bonaparte; but talk not of exaggerating the evils of that which sunders "what God has joined together"—changes love into hatred—confiding trust into consuming jealousy—honesty into deceit—friends into enemies—destroys natural affection—transforms kindness into deadly revenge—puts out the eyes of the mind—palsies conscience—perverts the judgment—renders the heart callous—converts the image of God into a prowling demon, and sends him forth to perpetrate his work of death upon the morals of society.

If to walk amidst the wreck of matter be gloomy, what is it to walk amidst the WRECK OF MIND? But language fails us, it can be seen in its true light, *only in real life.*

In conclusion, we would say,—in view of the wants of this class of

community, for whom we toil and for whom we plead--in view of the success that has attended the efforts already made--in view of the happiness to be derived from binding up the broken heart, and cheering the drooping spirit,—we hope the contribution box for the ensuing year will be large enough to receive MEN AND WOMEN; that those, who with us can say, “silver and gold have we none,” may present “a LIVING SACRIFICE.”

ERRATA.—In the List of Managers, on the 10th page, the name of JAMES H. SHIELD, occurs:—it should be JAMES H. SHEDD.

On the 55th page, it is stated that Mr. Bushnell receives a salary of \$1400:—it should be \$400.